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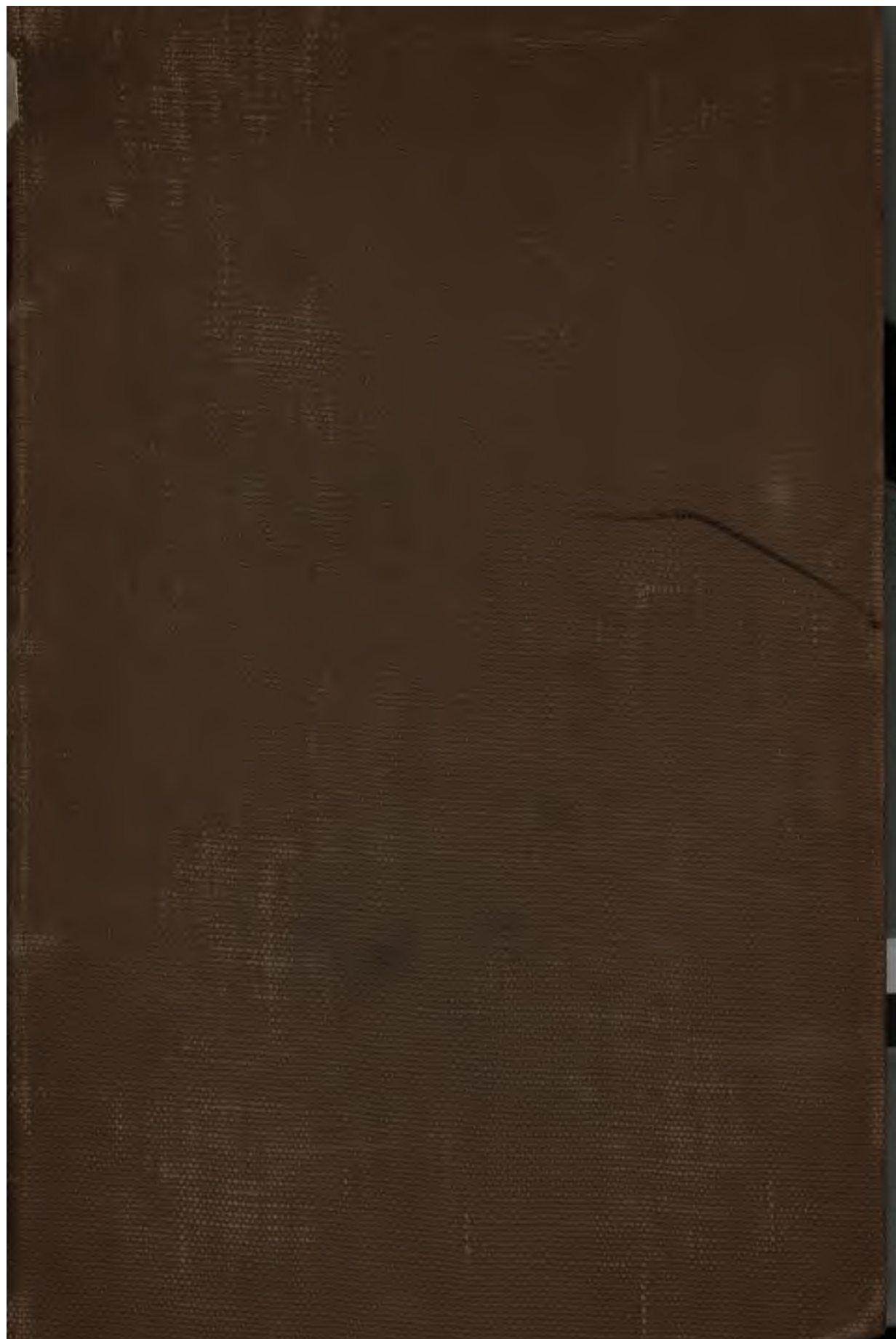
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*3 March, 1902.*

















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THE SERVICES  
OF  
LIEUT.-COLONEL FRANCIS DOWNMAN, R.A.  
IN  
FRANCE, NORTH AMERICA, AND THE WEST INDIES,  
BETWEEN THE YEARS 1758 AND 1784.

— EDITED BY —

COLONEL F. A. WHINYATES, *late* R.H.A.

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Robert H. Gardiner,  
Boston

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**CORRIGENDA.**

Page 17, line 20, for inch read nip.  
 „ 20, „ 13, „ Guadeoupe read Guadeloupe.  
 „ 47, „ 20 „ 5,700 men read 3,500 fighting men.  
 Pages 76, 77, 80, for Zèle read Zélé.  
 Page 92, line 5, for Commadore read Commodore.  
 In title of plan of St. Lucia, for December, 1788, read 1778.







LIEUT.-COLONEL FRANCIS DOWNMAN, ROYAL ARTILLERY.



THE SERVICES  
OF  
LIEUT.-COLONEL FRANCIS DOWNMAN, R.A.,  
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INTRODUCTION.

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THE personal experiences of an officer of the Royal Artillery in campaigns of more than 100 years ago may, it is thought, prove of value to historical students of the present day. The services of Lieut.-Colonel Downman were of a most varied character, both by land and water, for though a soldier by profession, it is singular how much he was associated with naval affairs. Before entering upon the narratives he has left, it will be interesting to give some particulars concerning him and his family.

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Francis Downman was the second of the four sons of Francis Downman, of St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, Esq., a lawyer by profession, whose father, Hugh Downman, in the early part of the eighteenth century, was Master of the House of Ordnance at Sheerness, where he died in 1728. The writer of these diaries obtained a commission in the Royal Artillery at the age of fifteen years, and was almost immediately sent on active service. During his first tour of service in North America, he married at New York, May 27th, 1772, Jane, daughter of Francis Day, of Pontefract, Esq., by whom he had four daughters and one son, afterwards Sir Thomas Downman, K.C.B., Royal Artillery and father of Captain J. T. Downman, late 83rd Regiment and Captain G. Downman, late 66th Regiment, to whose kindness we are indebted for the use of their grandfather's papers. In the latter years of his life Lieut.-Colonel Downman drew up a summary of his services, which it may be as well to give, before entering upon the more detailed accounts

he has left of some of the campaigns in which he bore a part. The summary is given as far as possible in Lient.-Colonel Downman's own words, with only such alterations as may serve to make the meaning clearer and more connected. The detailed accounts of his active service it has been considered advisable to divide into separate parts according to the different campaigns and events described, and which are as follows :—

PART I.—The expedition to the West Indies and taking the island of Guadeloupe in 1759, and subsequent residence in the island.

PART II.—Campaigns in the American War of Independence, 1777–8.

PART III.—The capture of the island of St. Lucia in 1778, and subsequent evolutions of the English and French fleets.

#### LIEUT.-COLONEL F. DOWNMAN'S SUMMARY OF HIS SERVICES.

He received his commission as a fire-worker in the Royal Artillery on June 8th, 1757. During the summer he was encamped at Chatham, and in the winter he worked hard in the Laboratory at Woolwich in a canvas frock, marked No. 6 on the back; Lord George Sackville<sup>1</sup> frequently came to see the young subs at work.

In June, 1758, he was with the little army at that time annoying the coast of France, which landed at Cancale Bay, under command of the Duke of Marlborough.<sup>2</sup> He was employed in the burning and destruction of all the vessels and store houses at St. Malo.

In July, the whole army returned to England, and the Duke went with a portion to Germany. The remainder was placed under General Bligh and sailed again for the coast of France. In August, Lient. Downman was ten days on shore at Cherbourg constantly employed in mining and destroying the bason and works there. In the further operations in September, he commanded the only two 6-pr. guns that landed with the army at St. Lunaire Bay, and marched to St. Cas, where he had the unhappiness to see so many gallant officers and men lost in the embarkation in the Bay of St. Cas.<sup>3</sup>

In November, he went with the army, under General Hobson, to the West Indies in the fleet commanded by Commodore Moore.

In January, 1759, he landed with the troops at Martinico. The army lost a number of foot soldiers and two field-pieces in the hurry of running away in the night. In the same month he was actively

<sup>1</sup> Lient.-General of the Ordnance.

<sup>2</sup> Charles, 2nd Duke, died 20th Nov., 1758, in Germany. He was Master-General of the Ordnance and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

<sup>3</sup> While the army was embarking on Sept. 11th, the French, who had collected a large force under the Duke d' Aguilhon, attacked the English rear-guard of some 1500 men and inflicted a loss of over 700 officers and men killed, drowned and taken prisoners, including General Dury, who commanded.

*See* Major-General Bligh's despatch, September 13th, 1758.

employed in the reduction of Guadeloupe, particularly with that part of the army under the command of two excellent officers, Brigadiers Clavering and Crump. General Hobson died, but three weeks afterwards the island struck its white rag to Clavering and Crump in the Capes Terre. Lieutenant Downman was ordered to remain in the island and did so till the peace of 1763, when he was at the occupation of Dominique and returned home in the December of that year. As soon as he shewed himself at Woolwich, he was ordered to prepare for service in America, but obtained leave of absence. In June, 1764, he went to New York and remained till November, when he was sent to the Gulf of Mexico to receive over that miserable place Pensacola,<sup>1</sup> from a few half starved Spaniards. He had the misfortune to be ordered to remain in this province, and did so until 1771. He was then ordered to St. Augustine in Florida and remained until January, 1772. In February, he went to New York and arrived after a dreadful passage. He returned to England in December.

After some service in Scotland, he was again ordered to America, reached New York in June, 1777, and joined the army under General Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Howe. He was constantly employed from the landing at the head of the Elk river in August until the entrance into Philadelphia. He was engaged with and took the rebel frigate Delaware. He was the only English officer with the Hessian troops under Colonel Donop in the attack on the works at Red Bank in October. He was present at the taking and destruction of the works on Mud Island in November, for which he had the public thanks of the Commander-in-Chief. About this time he was taken very ill from excessive hard service in the Delaware and was obliged to go to New York in a hospital ship.

He remained in New York till October, 1778, then sailed with the army under General Grant for the West Indies, was much employed in the taking of St. Lucia and had thanks for his conduct. He remained at St. Lucia, except when visiting the other islands, until the peace of 1784.

Lieut. Downman has left no detailed account of his experiences in the expedition against the coast of France in 1758, beyond the reference to them in the general statement of his services. In further explanation we may, however, briefly state that owing to the French encroachments upon our possessions in North America, war broke out between the two nations in March, 1757, which, by the following year, had expanded to all parts of the world. In 1758, Mr. Pitt projected a series of descents upon the coast of France, the object of this one, as we learn from the articles of instruction being, "To carry a warm alarm along the coast of France and to make descents on any part or parts thereof, and attack any place that may be found practicable from the easternmost point of Normandy as far as Morlaix inclusive. And that the utmost endeavours be made to land at or near Cherbourg on

<sup>1</sup> Florida was ceded to Great Britain at the peace in 1763, in exchange for Havana. Pensacola was head-quarters.

the coast of Normandy and attack the batteries and town, and, if possible, demolish and destroy the port and bason, together with all ships, naval stores, and works, batteries, fortifications, arsenals and magazines, and effectually destroy the same." Though in the main the various expeditions successfully accomplished their instructions, yet in England the feeling was that these attacks were rather more of a buccaneering nature than the operations of legitimate warfare. Mr. Pitt therefore, abandoned further action of the kind and the successes about this time in America at Louisbourg, under General Wolfe, restored the tone of popular feeling and confidence in the Prime Minister.

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## PART I.

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*The expedition to the West Indies and taking the Island of Guadeloupe in 1759, and subsequent residence in the island.*

As Lieut. Downman only commences his diary from the point at which he himself participated in the operations in Guadeloupe, it is as well concisely to relate what had previously occurred. An expedition to act against the French West Indian Islands sailed from Spithead on Nov. 10th, 1758, and arrived off the Island of Martinico in January, 1759. The troops were landed on the 15th, but it was found that little of consequence could be effected without a probable loss to the land forces and the fleet, especially the latter, that might seriously prejudice the more important operations designed against Guadeloupe. The troops were therefore re-embarked by moonlight with some loss on January, 17th, and the expedition proceeded to Guadeloupe, where a landing was effected on the 23rd, and possession taken of part of that portion of the island called Basse Terre. After some delay owing to the absence of the English fleet in search of the French squadron, further operations were undertaken, and Lieut. Downman, in the following pages, narrates what he saw and his subsequent experiences in the island.

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*A journal commenced 20th April, 1759, and ended the 8th Oct., 1764.*

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CHAPTER I.

*Action at St. Marie's. Cessation of arms. Surrender of the Island of Marie Galante. Brigadier Clavering's report. A description of Guadeloupe.*

On the 20th April, 1759, the army began their march towards St. Marie's, and I received orders to attend them with my two field-pieces. We met with very little to molest our progress till we arrived near St. Marie's. The enemy had thrown up a breastwork by the water side, at the only place where we could pass. I brought up my guns, and by two or three well-pointed shot drove the enemy from it, our troops at the same time penetrating through the wood, which the French thought impassable, and nearly getting into their rear before they retired. They ran with the utmost precipitation to the heights above St. Marie's, where they had very strong intrenchments and cannon. I had two of my detachment wounded at the breastwork. One of my shot had killed two of the French; as we passed the breastwork we saw them lying almost knocked to pieces. Our troops immediately attacked their works, and in a little time carried them with some loss. The enemy set the town on fire before they left it. We halted here this night.

*April 21st.*—I set fire to a quantity of powder the enemy had left in the upper battery. I gave orders to send one of my guns on board a sloop, and attended the army with the other. At about 2 o'clock we halted at a large plantation, belonging to M. Penel, one of the richest men in the island. We were now arrived in the Capes Terre, the most beautiful part of the whole island. While we were at this plantation a prodigious number of negroes, all belonging to M. Penel, came in from the country and surrendered. We are informed that he has 1500 of his own. We found here 6 cannon. We remained here for the night.

*April 22nd.*—At 10 o'clock in the morning the army proceeded to a place called Bois de bout, about 2 miles from M. Penel's, and drew up on a most delightful plain. A flag of truce came from the enemy to treat for a capitulation.

*April 23rd.*—General Barrington arrived from Petit Bourg.

*April 26th.*—A flag from the enemy. A cessation of arms agreed on.

*April 29th.*—In the afternoon I went with several others to a mountain, where we found a great number of French women. They had lived in this retreat for some time, and have not a man with them. No people could seem more happy than these at seeing us, for they knew by our venturing to come to them that the capitulation was near

concluded. They seemed to have everything in plenty about them, and entertained us with coffee and chocolate. They live in huts, but the spot they have chosen is most beautifully romantic, on the very summit of a mountain. The ascent to it is very steep and rugged, but the top is level and entirely shaded from the sun by prodigious high trees whose tops touch each other, and prevent even a ray of the sun penetrating. In this delightful and pleasing spot their huts are built, and, setting aside the fear they must have for their fathers and husbands, they seem perfectly happy.

*April 30th.*—I was informed that two French men-of-war had got out of Fort Royal harbour in Martinique, given our active commodore the slip, landed 400 men at St. Ann's, and were landing 600 more, when they heard the island had capitulated. They immediately embarked them again, except some that took the opportunity of deserting.

*May 1st.*—The capitulation was signed.

*May 2nd.*—A detachment of 400 men under the command of Colonel Barlow marched this morning to take possession of the Dos d'ane, a mountain that lies between this place and Basse Terre, and which is the only pass to that town from Capes Terre. It is a place of such amazing strength, that a few men might maintain it against an army.

*May 3rd.*—I am informed that the commodore has let the French fleet out of Martinico, and that he is in pursuit of them *under easy sail*.

*May 5th.*—I went to a French battery on the road to the Dos d'ane called Les trois rivières, and knocked the trunnions off three iron guns. I found them loaded with two round shot and two bags of langrage each.

*May 7th.*—General Barrington has taken up his quarters at Monsieur Poyen's, a man of great property in this part of the island. The French ladies come in very fast.

*May 11th.*—General Clavering, Major Dundas and Captain Leslie sailed from here yesterday in a sloop to join the fleet, and then proceed with the express to England. Two hundred men marched from here to Mr. Heeds, about five miles off, with orders to remain there. The remainder of Elliot's regiment marched back to M. Penel's.

*May 12th.*—It was in orders that the troops should receive the same allowance of provisions as the King allows in the garrison of Gibraltar.

*May 14th.*—A detachment marched in here from Les trois rivières under command of Major Teesdale.

*May 16th.*—The army marched from here to St. Marie's to embark for the Island of Marie Galante, a French island which lies within sight. I am now left at this place alone.

*May 18th and 19th.*—I heard a great deal of firing towards Marie Galante, which made me imagine our troops had landed.

*May 24th.*—I was informed the Island of Marie Galante had sur-



rendered. I now received orders to march from this place to Petit Bourg, where I am to be quartered. The company of artillery I belonged to has received orders to remain in this island, as have likewise the 4th, 63rd and 65th regiments. I am appointed to Petit Bourg with 20 men; the 4th regiment is quartered in the village, and by General Crump's being here, it is head-quarters. The 63rd regiment and a detachment of artillery with Lieutenants Patrickson<sup>1</sup> and Young<sup>2</sup> are stationed at Fort Royal, and the 65th regiment is appointed to Grand Terre.

It is not easily conceived what hardships and difficulties the troops have gone through that were employed upon this service, viz., the want of provisions, crossing of rivers, climbing of precipices, lying on the bare ground in wet clothes, excessive heat of the climate, and many other things which sufficiently shew the goodness and bravery of our troops and the skill and perseverance of our leaders. For my own part I believe I fared as badly as any soldier in the army. Very often indeed have I been obliged to be content with a small piece of salt pork or beef and a biscuit and a draught of water. Fresh meat on the march was the greatest rarity. I did not from the day of my landing till I returned to Petit Bourg but once lie up on a bed. Every night my mattress was the bare ground or the leaves of the sugar cane, and yet notwithstanding I never had the smallest illness, though others were attacked with many disorders. The flux was the most fatal, for in a few days it generally carried off the person who was seized with it. During these operations we took 45 pieces of artillery, which had they been defended with any spirit must have done great damage to our army.

Before I proceed further with my journal, I will insert the letter written by Brigadier-General Clavering describing our operations.

AT MONSIEUR POYEN'S,  
CAPES TERRE, GUADELOUPE,  
*April 24th, 1759.*

SIR,

On Thursday, April 12th, at daybreak, I landed with the troops which you put under my orders, consisting of 1300 men, exclusive of the Antigua volunteers, at a bay not far distant from Arnoville. The enemy made no opposition to our landing, but retired as our troops advanced to very strong entrenchments behind the river Le Corn. This post was of the utmost importance to them, as it covered the whole country to the Bay of Mahault, where the provisions and supplies for the whole place were landed from St. Eustatius, and therefore they had very early taken possession of it, and had spared no pains to strengthen it, though the situation was such as required little assistance from art.

The river was only accessible at two narrow passes, on account of a

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<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Kane's List, No. 304.

morass covered with mangroves, and those places they had occupied with a redoubt and well palisaded entrenchments defended with cannon and all the militia of that part of the country. We could only approach them in a very contracted front, which was at last reduced to the breadth of the roads, intersected with deep and wide ditches. Our artillery, which consisted of four field-pieces and two howitzers, were ordered to keep a constant fire on the top of the entrenchments to cover the attack made by Duroure's regiment and the Highlanders, who, on this occasion, behaved with the greatest coolness and resolution, keeping up as they advanced a regular platoon firing. This behaviour so intimidated the enemy that they abandoned the first entrenchment on the left, into which the Highlanders threw themselves sword in hand and with part of Duroure's regiment pursued the enemy into the redoubt. The enemy still kept their ground at their entrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed our people very much both with musketry and cannon, and though those who had carried the first entrenchment had got into their rear, yet, till a bridge could be made to pass the river, they could not get round to attack this post. This took us nearly half an hour, but however, we got time enough to take nearly 70 of the enemy prisoners as they were endeavouring to make their escape, amongst whom were some of the most considerable men in the island. We found in both the entrenchments six pieces of cannon. Our loss was one officer and 13 men killed, and two officers and 52 men wounded.

As soon as the ditches could be filled up for the passage of the artillery, we proceeded on our march towards Petit Bourg. A considerable number of the enemy had lined an entrenchment about half a mile on the left of the road, but when they perceived we were endeavouring to surround them, they abandoned it, keeping always about 200 yards in our front and setting fire to the sugar canes, which obliged us more than once to leave the road to avoid any accident to our powder.

The troops arrived late on the banks of the river Lezard, behind which, at the only ford, the enemy had thrown up very strong entrenchments, protected with four pieces of cannon on the hill behind them. Having reconnoitred the side of the river, and finding it might cost us dear to force the passage at the ford, I therefore kept up the enemy's attention all night by firing into their lines. During this time I got two canoes conveyed about a mile and a half down the river, where being launched, we ferried over, before break of day in the morning, a sufficient number of men to attack them in flank, whilst we should do the same in front. The enemy soon perceived their danger, and left their entrenchments with the greatest precipitation.

Thus we passed without the loss of a man, still pursuing them to Petit Bourg, which place they had fortified with lines and a redoubt filled with cannon.

We found Captain Uvedale there in the *Granada* bomb, throwing shells into the redoubt. The enemy did not remain in it long, when they saw our intention of occupying the heights around them, but left

us masters of that and the port, and all the cannon round the place. We halted here the 14th to get provisions for the troops.

On the 15th, at daybreak, Brigadier Crump was detached with 700 men to the Bay of Mahault, and at the same time Captain Stiel with 100 to Guoyave, about 7 miles in our front, to destroy a battery there. The panic of the enemy was such that they only discharged their cannon at him, and abandoned a post that might have been defended against an army. He nailed up 7 pieces of cannon and returned the same evening to Petit Bourg; Brigadier Crump returned likewise the next day with his detachment from Mahault Bay, where he found the town and batteries abandoned. These he burnt with an immense quantity of provisions that had been landed there by the Dutch, and reduced the whole country as far as Petit Bourg.

The heavy rains on the succeeding days had so swelled the rivers, that it was impossible for the troops to advance; however, this delay gave us an opportunity of strengthening the post of Petit Bourg.

On the 18th, in the evening, the Antigua volunteers took possession again of Gouyave. They were supported the next morning by a detachment commanded by Colonel Barlow, who had orders to repair the roads for the cannon.

On the 20th, after leaving 250 men to guard Petit Bourg, the remaining part of the detachment, with two field-pieces, moved on towards Gouyave, in order to proceed afterwards to St. Marie's, where we were informed the enemy were collecting their whole force to oppose us, and had likewise thrown up entrenchments and made barricades on the road to prevent our approach to it. We were not long before we perceived them; but at the same time we found by our own observation, as well as by the information of the guides, that it was not impossible to get into their rear by roads the enemy thought impracticable, and consequently had guarded with little care.

A detachment was immediately formed under Colonel Barlow for this service, and orders were sent to hasten the march of the artillery, which from the badness of the roads had not been able to get up. The first shot from our cannon, placed very near their entrenchment, together with the alarm that was given by our detachment in the rear, made the enemy very soon sensible of the dangerous situation they were in; and indeed, only their precipitate flight saved them from being all taken prisoners. We pursued them as far as the heights of St. Marie's, where we again formed our men for a fresh attack on the lines and batteries there.

Whilst the barricades were being levelled for the artillery, we attempted a second time to pass the woods and precipices that covered the flanks of the enemy's lines, but before we could get up our cannon they perceived our intention, and began to quit their lines to oppose it, which made us resolve, without any further delay, to attack them immediately in front, and this movement was accordingly executed with the greatest vivacity, notwithstanding the constant firing of both their cannon and musketry. They abandoned here all their artillery, and went off in so much confusion, that they never afterwards

appeared before us. We took up our quarters at St. Marie's that night, and the next day entered Capes Terre, which is the richest and most beautiful part of this or any other country in the West Indies. Eight hundred and seventy negroes belonging to one owner surrendered to-day.

Here Messrs. de Glainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island, met me to know the terms you would grant them, and, as I accompanied them to Petit Bourg the next day and there presented them to you, it is not necessary for me to mention any transaction since that time.

I cannot, however, conclude without doing justice to those to whose merit is due the success that has attended the King's Arms on this occasion, to the troops who displayed so much spirit and constancy, to Brigadier Crump, without whose concurrence I never undertook anything, but chiefly to yourself, Sir, who planned the whole enterprise and who furnished me with those means, without which bravery or prudence can little avail.

To

I have the honour, etc., etc.,

The Hon. General Barrington.

J. CLAVERING.

I have already said that I was ordered to remain at Petit Bourg with 20 artillerymen. The first six or seven months I kept my health exceedingly well, having not the least complaint, though living entirely on salt provisions and without vegetables, but the 4th regiment and my detachment were not so fortunate. A fever and fluxes got among them and carried them off with the most unrelenting hand; 12 or 14 men have I seen carried to the burying ground of a day, and many of the officers likewise died in this place. The regiment, before a twelve month was elapsed, were near all dead or sick. I have been on the parade when they could not show above 20 men. For a considerable time our drummer marched off and trooped home the guard. I lost out of my detachment 16 men, yet during this dreadful mortality I continued quite well for six or seven months. At last I was seized with a violent fever one day when out shooting, and so severely that with great difficulty I reached home. This continued upon me for some considerable time, but intermitted. All this time I had nothing to live on but salt provisions, the few fowls that were to be had being at such a monstrous price that it was out of my power to buy any, and on getting over the fit I was very happy that I had a piece of salt pork and callivances (a kind of pea) to eat.

The town of Petit Bourg is most vilely situated, for in the front of it are many little islands swampy and covered with mangroves. A vast number of dead bodies were thrown ashore on them during the armies being at St. Louis. The wind comes from the sea over these islands and blows directly upon the town, and at the back is a vast quagmire perpetually exhaling pernicious vapours. On the right and left are two hills which almost prevent any wind from coming into the town. For what reason such a place should be chosen for head-quarters is hard to

determine. During my abode in this miserable place I felt three earthquakes. The first one happened about 8 o'clock in the evening, after a calm and intensely hot day. I was quartered in a large old house, and every instant expected it to fall upon me. The moment before we felt the shock, a most tremendous noise was heard, resembling the noise of a large body of horse, or coaches, galloping down a hard road. On my first feeling it I was struck motionless, and did not make the least attempt to run out of the house; indeed the Lisbon earthquake came to my memory and I expected every moment to be swallowed up. My fusée and other things that were hanging up in the room all came tumbling about my ears, and so froze me with fear that I remained in my chair till it was all over. No other damage happened from this shock (which lasted about a minute and a half) than a few old houses being thrown down.

It was not long after this when we were attacked with another, but it was nothing equal to the first. The third happened when I was dining on board a vessel in the harbour. The shock we received was just as if the vessel was driven from her anchor and had run violently upon a rock. The master was frightened and exclaimed "By G——d we have got among the rocks," but running upon deck he soon found what it was, for all the people of the town had run from their houses into the street.

After I had been at Petit Bourg about a year, I got leave to go on a visit to Basse Terre. I had not been long here when I was again seized with the fever and ague, and was more than once given over, but being at this time blessed with a good constitution I recovered perfectly, and during the remainder of my residence in this island had not the smallest illness. While I was ill here, Lieut. Young was sent to Petit Bourg in my stead.

I went from Petit Bourg to Basse Terre (by land, passed through that beautiful part, Capes Terre, which was by this time quite recovered from the devastation we had made. The plantations were again flourishing, and each of them seemed a little village, from the number of slaves the planters possessed. They had now an English market to take their produce to, and every one of them was amassing a fortune. This part of the island is inhabited only by Protestants, and they maintain a clergyman for themselves, taking it alternately to have service in one of their houses where they dine and pass the remainder of the day. I have often had the pleasure of being with them, and always met with the greatest civility and politeness. When I left this enchanting place, I found the remainder of the road very rough and bad, being principally over rocks and deep gullies which are dreadful to look at. The Dos d'ane, or asses back, is so very steep in its ascent and descent that the greatest care must be observed to prevent your falling. This place must be impassable to troops if the smallest opposition is made, for even rolling stones down it would be sufficient to prevent their approach without making use of any other weapon.

I do not think it will be amiss, in the plan of my journal, to give some account of Guadeloupe, as well as I can from my own observations.

I was a resident in it from the time of its being taken to the giving up.

The island is called Guadeloupe from a resemblance which it bears to a chain of mountains of the same name in old Spain. To speak with exactness, it is rather to be considered as two islands, divided from each other by a small river, called the Salt river, which I have twice been through. It is deep enough to admit pretty large vessels, but the water at the two entrances is not so deep as when you are in, and the greatest width is not more than 100 yards at the widest place. One of these islands is called Grand Terre, the other Guadeloupe, they are together in a circle about 90 leagues. The first is nearly destitute of fresh water, and not perfectly cultivated, but it is otherwise with Guadeloupe. No part of the world is furnished with more or better water, for no less than 50 rivers in that small circuit empty themselves into the sea, many navigable by boats, not to mention the numberless springs which rise among the rocks, and after a thousand meanders lose themselves in the larger streams. I wish I was able to describe the beauties of this country as they deserve. No part of the West Indies, perhaps of the world, affords more agreeable and more romantic scenes. It is full of high mountains, from which torrents of water are seen falling from rock to rock till lost in some profound gorge. I have often been in these places, and cannot imagine anything half so tremendous and yet so enchantingly agreeable. You are obliged to step from rock to rock, between which the water in some places is deep, and here are to be caught the finest shrimps and crawfish. Being in these ravines is being in another climate. The trees on the edges of the precipice are so intertwined together that the sun cannot penetrate, which makes it most delightfully pleasant. On the mountains a great variety of birds are to be met with, and very good of their kind, so that any person fond of romantic scenes and rural amusement, may in the highest perfection enjoy them in this country. There is one very high mountain not far from Basse Terre, which towers above the clouds, and a volcano continually emitting smoke and fire. From this mountain considerable quantities of sulphur may be had; with several of our officers I went up as far as we could with safety, and found at a considerable distance from the great mouth a vast quantity of sulphur in lumps and in powder, and large cinders had also rolled a great way down the side of the hill. We found it extremely dangerous after we were a good way advanced, not only from the difficulty of climbing up, which we could only do by depending on small burnt up shrubs and protecting rocks, but also from the number of holes in the side of the mountain, which seemed to have no bottom, and made one shudder to go near them.

To the northward of Basse Terre, near the river Bouillante, are hot baths fit for all medicinal purposes for which such waters are used. The land in the valleys is extremely fertile, it produces the usual West Indian commodities, sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, and ginger, with a variety of fruits, and the most of them very grateful to the taste. The pine apple of this island grows to a prodigious size, and is of the most

delicious flavour, far surpassing anything I ever tasted in any other part of the world.

The French began to plant colonies in this island as early as the year 1632. But for a long time this, together with all their colonies, continued in a languishing condition. It was in the beginning of the present century that they began to emerge from their depression. After the peace of Utrecht had given France time to breathe, she turned her attention strongly to these islands. Guadeloupe partook however less of this care than Martinico, and yet, by its natural advantages it does not fall short of that island, either in the quantity or goodness of its produce, if it does not greatly exceed it in both, as it certainly does in its capacity to receive all sorts of improvement. The importance of this island until its conquests was very little known in England. The reason was that, by an old and very extraordinary regulation, the people of Guadeloupe were forbid to trade direct with Europe, but were obliged to send all their produce to Martinique, from whence they had all their European commodities! The change they now experience is so pleasing to them that they heartily wish the English may ever remain masters, for they are certain of being again loaded with this heavy imposition when the island is restored to France. They have now the satisfaction of disposing of their goods to whom they please, they are always sure of a market, and the whole country seems to have received new vigour from its late distress. The sides of the hills and mountains, that before never felt the land of the husbandman, are now cleared and cultivated. By this happy change of government every planter is amassing a fortune.

The English made attempts on this island in 1691 and 1703, but they were neither powerful enough, nor conducted with sufficient ability to produce any permanent effect; the troops wasted the country and retired with their booty.

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## CHAPTER II.

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*Lieutenant Downman's occupation and amusements. A canoe voyage. The peace of 1763. Return home. Voyage to America. A violent storm. Letters on the outbreak of the American War of Independence.*

In the beginning of July, 1761, I was ordered by Governor Melville round to Fort George, with directions to transport an 18-pr. to Marigot in Capes Terre, where Lieutenant Campbell of the Engineers had erected a small battery. This piece of service took me up some time, as a catamaran had to be made on which the gun was to be carried. This machine, if well made, is of great use, for it will bear a vast weight, and will go into very shoal water, which is very necessary for the convenience of landing anything, particularly cannon. It is made of large and small timbers, which are lashed together with ropes, leaving vacant places for fixing empty casks, any number that you

please, according to the size of the catamaran or the weight that you want to carry. A catamaran made in an oblong form long enough to contain 20 hogsheads, five in each row, will, with great safety, transport four ton and a half weight; the bungs of the casks must be upwards so that you may pump them if it should be found necessary.

In the month of February, 1762, I was appointed to act as Barrack-Master of Fort Royal, but I did not enjoy the advantage of this place long, for another person, who had more interest with the Governor than myself, was put in my stead, and I received orders to repair to Grande Terre to take the command of the artillery in that island. I immediately set out by land for that place, passing over the Dos d'âne, through the Capes Terre, St. Marie's, Goyave, and then to Petit Bourg, my old quarters, from whence I took boat and crossed over to Fort Louis (now Fort George) on Grande Terre. This place I found very different from what it was at the time of the siege. Major Appleton, who commanded here, had taken great pains and trouble to have the wood cut down that was growing near the fort; and likewise to have the water conveyed away by ditches, which before used to lie in stagnant pools, and besides the pernicious effect of such water, it used to breed innumerable quantities of mosquitoes and sand flies, which are the only disagreeable things to be met with in this country.

Fort George is a very insignificant fortification, the walls being so weak that the firing of its own guns is sufficient to bring them down without the assistance of an enemy. However, there are very good quarters in it both for officers and men, but from being entirely shut out from the wind, the mosquitoes are intolerable. Just below the fort we have erected a barbette battery, mounting 12 or 15 cannon, but from the difficulty of getting stone it was not finished before giving up the island. Very good barracks for the officers were made here just under the fort, and a large house was built upon a hill near it, wherein the commanding officer lived. This place was very unhealthy at first, but through the improvements that were made, it became as good a situation as any in the island. This island labours under the irreparable disadvantage of want of good water; except rain water, there is none that can be drunk with any degree of pleasure, and the only place where this can be had is in a wood about a mile from the fort. The rain water that is procured in the fort is preserved in a tank or reservoir, which will contain a great deal, but you may imagine it cannot be very good, as it is under the buildings, and of course deprived of air which is the only thing that can keep it sweet. Every house in the fort has troughs under its eaves, which communicate with each other and convey the water to the tank.

This place agreed with me very well, and it is well adapted to any person who is fond of the diversion of either fishing or shooting. A number of little islands lie between the fort and Petit Bourg, which in the season abound with curlew and plover, and at other seasons you can always find something or other to give you entertainment. A great variety of fish are to be caught here, and very good, and there are a



great many ways of taking them, either with the seine, cast net, harpoon or dart, with a rod, or with a hand line, and by a method which will at once supply 200 or 300 men, which is this. You observe when it is low water, and on the flats that lie just within the harbour you make a fence, either with boards or as a hedge. If the latter, it must be very closely twisted together, and well driven down with stakes; it need not be above 3 feet high, but this depends upon the rising of the tide. Your enclosure is to be in a bight, so that by running a fence across it you entirely secure it, but some have been made in the middle of the flat. You make it round or square as you think best, observing to leave three or four openings. When you see the tide at its height you must go carefully into the water and fasten all your gates, or if you will, lay a net or two at them, by which means the greatest quantity of fish will be taken in them, otherwise they will be dispersed all about your enclosure, and take up more time in collecting. It is almost incredible the number of fish that may be taken by this means, and as we frequently had more than could be used in one day, the remainder were put into crawls which we had made for that purpose.

We likewise caught fish here with pots made of wicker, indeed this is the general method used by the French, for it needs little attention, no more than to visit them every morning. The fish pots are laid in deep water, being sunk with a stone and attached by a rope to a small buoy. The best fish at this place, I think, is the rock cod. Another agreeable amusement is the striking the craw fish, which grow to a vast size; I speak within bounds when I say I have seen them of 20 lbs. weight. Another method was to go in a boat or canoe, with a dart, among the coral rocks that surrounded every one of the little islands. The water is so excessively clear that you may discover anything at the depth of eight or nine fathoms, but the craw fish are generally found at four or five feet in the cavities of the rocks, and were very easily taken. They are of the nature of the lobster, but I think their meat more delicate. The oyster here is not to be found on the ground as they are in other countries. The only places I could find them in were up the lagoons, or in ponds, growing on the branches of the mangroves, or on any other timber that was near the water's edge. They adhere so strongly to the wood that you are obliged to use a hatchet to get them off. I have found them on stones and rocks likewise, but they are much smaller than those that come from the trees.

Besides these diversions, you may pass your time exceedingly agreeably in observing and collecting the other curious or extraordinary productions of the sea. Had I at this time been sensible of the attention that is paid to shells, I might at this place have made a most admirable assortment, for the shores of these little islands are covered with an innumerable quantity and a very great variety. Among these pleasant little isles and in the harbour of Fort George, I spent a good deal of my time. A small canoe I had served me for all these purposes and in this I have some times gone to Petit Bourg, though when the

wind blows even a little there is a disagreeable channel or two to pass. The harbour of Fort George is the largest and most secure of any that I ever saw or heard of; it is entirely land locked, and no wind that blows can effect any ship that is in it. The entrance into it is very narrow, between some rocky islands and Hog island, directly opposite the fort. The depth of water is about 23 or 24 feet. About a mile and a half within the harbour is a little village, called by the French, Point à Petre, but it is now called Pitt Ville, and is much improved since the English have been here. A little further up the bay is another village called Abymes.

Amongst the many amusements which this island affords, that of goat hunting is one of the principal, both as to pleasure, (as difficulties in hunting are accounted a pleasure), and profit. A very little distance from the fort, towards Le Gosier, are very high rocks which overhang the water and are almost inaccessible to us, but these cunning and sure-footed creatures have taken up their quarters here, and very good ones they are, for nature, considering their inability to provide for themselves, has furnished them with large convenient caves which shelter them perfectly from wind and weather. I was one day out after these creatures, and luckily came in sight of them browsing upon the hill near the rocks. I daresay there were 30 young and old; immediately upon my firing, they scampered away to the rocks, and notwithstanding the clumsiness of their feet, they jumped from the point of one rock to the other without making the least slip; indeed if they had, they must have tumbled headlong into the sea.

I was determined to follow them if possible, and therefore went the same road I imagined they had taken, amongst monstrous broken rocks and roots of trees, but I was obliged to take the greatest care in my progress, for it was both difficult and dangerous. At length, after a good deal of fatigue, I discovered a little path made by the goats, leading under the precipice; this I kept, but with much hazard of my neck, till I came to the mouth of a little cave. I looked into it but could not see one goat, but going further, I perceived by the track that they had another way from these caves. I therefore thought it best to sit down and wait till towards evening when they would be coming to their lodgings. I had not waited long when I heard some of them bleat, and in a few minutes I saw three or four coming in by the way I had taken. I fired immediately and wounded one, but before I could get to it, it had by its struggling fallen a great way down the rock, and where it was impossible for me to go, and the night coming on, I was obliged to get out of this dangerous and romantic place as fast as I could. I was out another day with some officers when we had better success, for we found the goats feeding in a wood, and before they could make their escape, killed two. After this they became very shy, and took so much care and kept so good a look out that we could not get a shot at them again.

I must not omit to mention the land crab, which is, I think, of all creatures I know, the most ugly and forbidding; they are made like

the sea crab, but grow to a great size, and all their legs and some parts of their body are covered with long black hair. These creatures inhabit the low marshy ground, and are mostly found among the mangroves, and numbers have taken up their abode in the burying ground. Notwithstanding their frightful appearance and their filthy abominable feeding, they are eaten with great *goût* by the inhabitants and by our soldiers; for my own part I never could be brought to taste them. There is another crab which at a particular season frequents the savannahs or meadows; these are very small and of a reddish colour, and are held in much estimation by the French. I have often dined at their houses, when a most excellent soup has been served up, made entirely of these crabs.

The large land crabs are very difficult to be caught except at night, at any other time they are scarcely seen, and when they are, it is at so small a distance from their holes, that before you can come up to them they are gone. At night you have no more to do than to go into the mangrove woods with a torch, and you may take as many as you please, for by this light they cannot see their holes. You must be careful how you take hold of them, for with their claws they give a monstrous ~~kick~~. The negroes here are very dexterous at it, they tie them up in half dozens and bring them to the soldiers, who purchase them for a biscuit or two, or some such trifle, and either make soup of them or roast them.

I do not remember that in all my walks about the island I ever saw a snake, nor is there any other creature the least off ensive or dangerous. I have seen one which had some resemblance to the racoon, but it is harmless and is very good eating. The iguana is to be found frequently in the gullies and in the woods on the banks of rivers, it is very like the lizard, but is very large; I have seen them near four feet long. These creatures are very often eaten by the French. The meat of them is as white as veal, and when dressed is an excellent savoury dish.

After being some time at Fort George, I made an excursion to La Moule, a place about N.E. from Fort George, and where a part of the 65th Regiment were quartered; it is situated near the sea side and is a pretty little town without any fortifications, except a small battery. In going to La Moule, I went through the town of St. Ann's, where was another detachment of the 65th, and through St. François, which had likewise a party of that regiment quartered in it. St. Ann's is a pretty large town, but it had not quite recovered from the distress it was in at the siege when General Crump visited it. St. François is but a small place. Both these towns have very good roads belonging to them where vessels may ride with safety, being sheltered by small long islands that lie before them. I thought the country all about very pleasant and agreeable, but it is not equal to the other parts of the island, either for the goodness of the plantations or the beauty of the prospects.

On my return to the fort, an officer of the 65th and myself agreed to

go the north point of the island. For this purpose I had my canoe put into good order, and with two men to row we set off, going down the harbour and through the salt river, which parts the island. The river we found very pleasant while there was any wind, but when it was calm the mosquitoes and sandflies were enough to make one mad. When we got out of the river we were in the open sea, which was at this time rather too high to make our situation any way agreeable, and the wind blew fresh, but luckily it was in our favour. After shipping many seas and being in no small danger, we arrived before night at Port Louis, where is a battery of 12 guns and an officer and party of the 65th Regiment. We lay here all night, and the next morning entered our little bark and proceeded. The wind and sea were something abated, and we arrived at Bertrand Bay without any danger. We met with very civil and good entertainment both from an officer who was stationed here and from the French. This is a pretty little village and well situated close by the water side on rising ground. There is a small battery here. We remained three days, and then set off for Port Louis, but before we reached that place we encountered great difficulty and danger. The wind, after we turned a point of land called Antigua Point, blew directly against us. The sea was very high likewise, and we were for two or three hours unable to gain anything ahead, and what was worse, we were a considerable distance from the shore. The waves were every moment beating over us, the men were tired, and we could not get up to relieve them, it being very dangerous to stir in a canoe, especially when there is any sea. We could not venture to turn about to endeavour to regain the place we had left, for the waves coming against the broad-side would have instantly filled her. We had nothing left but to keep her head to the sea, and do the best we could. We made shift to give the men a dram apiece which gave them new vigour, and after a vast deal of labour we reached our port. I cannot describe the pain I felt all that night and next day from my face and hands which were in one blister from the heat of the sun and the salt water. We did not choose to leave this place till we were quite recovered from our fatigue and the weather more calm. On the third morning we re-embarked, and as it was very calm we soon entered the salt river, and arrived at the fort in the evening, where everyone was surprised to see us, for we had been given up for lost.

My next trip was into Capes Terre. I set off in my canoe across the bay and landed at Goyave, and then walked to Marigot, where I was very kindly entertained by my friends of the 4th Regiment who were now quartered here in barracks built for that purpose. Petit Bourg had proved such a burying ground to the regiment that they were obliged to leave it.

I had an opportunity while I was here of seeing a most extraordinary method of catching fish. About the month of November a small kind of fish resembling the sprat comes upon the coast in amazing shoals. On discovering these, two negroes, each with a cast net, go into a canoe,

one standing in the head and the other in the stern. When they come among the fish, the man in the head throws his net and immediately jumps overboard and dives after it, and the man in the stern does the same. In a little while, one of them comes up with his net in his hand full of fish, throws it into the canoe, and then gets in himself; the other man directly pops up with his net full and does as the other did, and thus they go on till they have caught what quantity they please. What is very strange, they fish in this manner where the water is six or eight fathoms deep.

After remaining a few days with my friends, I returned to the fort. From this time to the giving up the island my time was spent as agreeably as I could wish. I never was the least ill, and therefore, could have nothing to make me dissatisfied with the place. The commanding officer, Captain Roberts, and all the others were extremely good natured, and we lived together in the most sociable and friendly manner.

In the month of June, 1763,<sup>1</sup> we were informed that a peace was concluded, and that the island and Martinique were to be restored to France. We directly set to work and embarked all our cannon and artillery stores on board the "Loyalty," an old very large cat.<sup>2</sup>

On the 2nd July, a schooner arrived with French troops, a poor miserable looking set of fellows. On the 4th, they landed and marched into the fort, and we marched out and immediately embarked. One of our men, by way of plaguing Monsieur when he struck the English flag, cut the halyards, and they were a considerable time before they could hoist their white flag. This, though very foolish and wrong, occasioned a great deal of mirth to our people. On the 5th, we sailed for Bassè Terre. On the 6th, the French took possession of Fort Royal, and all the English troops embarked. The lower sort of French were exceedingly insolent to our people when they were embarking, though the others were most sincerely affected on our going away, well knowing the loss they would soon sustain.

On the 7th, all the English set sail for the island of Dominique, which was ceded to England. Our ship sprung so many leaks that with the greatest hard labour of everyone on board, we could not prevent the water from gaining upon us. On the 8th, we came off Prince Rupert's bay, but did not get in till the 9th in the afternoon, and but for the assistance we received from the men-of-war, the ship would have gone down before we came to anchor. Another ship was ordered alongside of us, and all the guns and stores were taken out immediately.

I went on shore at this place, but was so bitten by the mosquitoes that I was obliged to get on board again. There are no buildings

<sup>1</sup> By the peace of Paris in 1763. Among other conditions, England gave up the islands Martinique, Guadeloupe and St. Lucia; also the principal part of Cuba with the Havannah. In exchange she received the promontory of Florida and the countries east and south-east of the Mississippi.

<sup>2</sup> An old term for a collier.

here, except several huts where some English people live, who are but lately arrived, and sell a few goods. In a few days after this I went in a canoe two or three miles up a river to get some plantain trees for our ship. I met three Caribbs in a canoe in this river, who were killing fish with bows and arrows. I had the pleasure to see them strike several. They are so very dexterous at it that they will strike them at seven or eight yards distance, and though the fish is swimming very fast, and a foot and a half or two feet under the surface.

On the 12th, I received orders to remain in this island with a detachment, but on my remonstrating, as I had been so long in Guadeloupe, another officer who had but lately come out was ordered in my place.

On the 21st, in the morning, we sailed out of the bay, and in the afternoon we lay to off Basse Terre, Guadeloupe.

On the 22nd, we passed close by the island of Antigua and lay to all night.

On the 23rd, about noon, we lay to off Basse Terre in the island of St. Kitts, and caught a very large shark, which came from under the ship and made a snap at the blade of an oar that was hanging over the boat's side. We baited a large hook with a piece of pork and he immediately took it. We had great difficulty to get him on board and much greater to kill him. He lashed his tail about with such violence that no one dared venture near him for some time, till one of the sailors with a hatchet gave him a nick that quieted him. He was 11 ft. long.

On the 24th, in the morning, we passed by the island of St. Martin and among other little islands, and in the afternoon took our leave of land. Nothing happened of any consequence during the passage but our being put on an allowance of water, and indeed nothing can be so horrid as the want of water on board ship, and if we had had a much longer passage we should have been in the greatest distress.

On the 29th of August I saw with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction my native land, after having been absent from it near five years.

On the 30th, in the evening, we came to anchor at Spithead. I immediately went on shore and remained till the 12th September, and then again embarked, on the 14th anchored in the Downs, and on the 16th weighed and arrived at Woolwich.

A few days after my being here, I received orders to join my company then in America. I thought this order rather unkind as I had been so long abroad. but on my application to General Williamson,<sup>1</sup> I obtained leave of absence till the month of August following, when I received a letter from the General at my father's in Huntingdonshire, ordering me to join immediately at Woolwich.

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<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 31. Lieut.-Colonel Williamson commanded the R.A. at the capture of Louisbourg and subsequent operations till the capture of Montreal in 1760. He died a Colonel Commandant 1781, at Woolwich.





COLONEL JAMES, ROYAL ARTILLERY.



On the 12th August, 1764, a large detachment of Artillery under the command of Major James,<sup>1</sup> embarked and went down to Gravesend.

On the 16th, we left this place and anchored at the Nore.

August 17th.—Weighed, and the same evening came to in the Downs.

August 18th.—Exceedingly bad weather.

August 19th.—In the morning weighed anchor and set sail with a good wind.

August 23rd.—In the evening, came to anchor in the Plymouth Sound. Went on shore, eat and drank very heartily by way of taking leave, and returned on board after purchasing a few things necessary for the voyage.

August 24th.—In the afternoon we weighed anchor, a delightful breeze filled every sail and soon wafted us out of sight of land which I left with much regret.

Our passage to the 20th September glided smoothly on. We had met with a sloop from Guadeloupe to Bristol and two large sloops near the banks of Newfoundland. We had encountered no wind or sea that made it the least disagreeable, but the time was very near at hand that would show us how uncertain everything is in this world, and how little to be depended on are the fairest appearances. We lay to on the banks, but very unluckily could not catch any fish. The greatest part of the day was fair and pleasant, but towards the evening there appeared a vast change, angry dark clouds arose on every side of us, the wind began to howl and freshened every minute, the portentous birds were flying round the ship, and seemed to warn us of the approaching danger. The master had paid attention to all those signs and had put the ship under a reefed fore-sail and a close reefed

<sup>1</sup> Kane's List No. 73. Major James and Lieutenant Downman were connected by marriage; Mrs Downman being a daughter of Mr. Francis Day of Pontefract, Yorkshire, whose sister married Major James. Major James served many years in North America, he was a man of taste and good private fortune and owned a beautiful house and garden with a valuable library in New York, which was burnt by the mob during the stamp act riots whilst the owner was on leave in England.

Among the Downman papers is a little note-book which belonged to James, in which he accurately describes the features of the country and scenery in a passage down the Hudson from Albany to New York. We will quote his entry for Tuesday June 30th, 1767.

"Northward of Butter-milk fall, twenty yards from the shore, in 39 feet water, muddy bottom, landed, ascended up an uneven rocky path, but continued through a maze and winding way under the sylvan umbrage, but sultry hot; the top a little cultivated by an old Cornishman, whose sons have two other farms on each side and within half-a-mile of him. On the opposite shore lives Beverley Robinson.<sup>2</sup> The Cornubrian was at the taking of Gibraltar, in the year 1704, then 23 years old. This old man has 1000 acres for which he and children pay a quit rent of half-a-crown a hundred. They raise grain for themselves, though not sufficient; with sheep, pork, cows, etc. They are wood cutters. The boats fetch it for market at New York, and pay nine shillings dear, and six or seven, cheap, a cord, market price sixteen cheap, thirty dear, oak. Think of a man, a helper in the taking of Gibraltar! one of the jewels in His Majesty's Crown! to be imbosomed in these high lands, where from the top, a ship, a skiff, a buoy, is almost too small for sight."

That James had a fellow feeling towards any one connected with Gibraltar, we can well understand for in 1771, he wrote his most learned and exhaustive book, in two volumes, "*The History of the Herculean Straits, now called Straits of Gibraltar*," a work of much excellence. He also mentions on his way down the Hudson, passing Ducking Island, reckoned midway between Albany and New York and so called because unless passengers pay a bottle of wine they are ducked as in passing the tropics. Major-General James died a Colonel Commandant in 1782.

<sup>2</sup> Beverley Robinson's house still stands, from whence General Benedict Arnold conducted his correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and where he met Major André, on September 22nd, 1780, to arrange the final terms of his treacherous proposal.

topsail. The wind at length began to blow a gale and increased till about 12 o'clock at night, when it blew with such astonishing violence that the fore-topsail was torn to atoms in an instant, and the foremast in the greatest danger of going over-board. By this time the sea had rose to such a height that the waves which rolled after the ship were as high as the mizen top, and from the darkness of the night appeared rather as mountains of fire, threatening every minute to burst in a deluge upon us and at once engulf the vessel and crew beneath its torrents. "The stormy genius of the deep seemed to have forsaken his cavern, to bid the tempest spread its blackest pinions turbid and terrible with hail and rain, pour its loudening blasts in whirlwind forth, and from the lowest depth upturn the world of waters." The ship is in the greatest danger; several seas break over the quarter, she is first down on one side, then the other, she is wheeled in dizzy whirl her helm with difficulty guided; at length she is thrown on one side and in this tortured condition remains a minute or two, no soul on board expected she would rise again, but the supreme hand of Him who is the disposer of all events raised her up, and with her our drooping spirits. The storm continued all night, and the next day several seas broke into us; one in particular, determined on mischief, broke upon the quarter, and drove upon the port. A deluge of water came in and set every thing swimming that was in the cabin, from hence it found its way into the steerage and almost overwhelmed the officers' wives and a number of children. The shrieks of the one and the crying of the other, and the condition everyone was in with the danger of the ship, made our situation excessively distressing. At length after three days of this dreadful kind of weather, that Providence which had hitherto protected us, ordained that the wind and sea should have some respite, which gave us an opportunity of congratulating each other on the recovery from such imminent danger. In this gale of wind the lading of the ship shifted, which gave her a considerable heel to one side, and as cannon was our cargo, it was impossible to remedy this matter at sea; we were therefore obliged to pursue our passage in this perilous situation. On the 4th of October, in the morning, we discovered land, but on our nearer approach found to our no small mortification that we were 30 leagues to leeward of our port, and therefore stood out to sea, and on the 7th October, we made the Navesink; here a pilot came on board of us and we brought to within side Sandy Hook, and remained all night. The next day, the 8th, we anchored at New York.

During Lieutenant Downman's first tour of service in America, between 1764 and 1772, the agitation resulting from the measures adopted in 1763, by the English Parliament to increase the revenue hitherto collected from the North American colonies was in full force. His being in Florida, far away from the principal scene of discontent and disaffection in Boston and Massachusetts Bay, may be the reason he has left no record of the events. After his return to England he

appears to have kept up a correspondence with his relative, Colonel James and other friends, and he has preserved some interesting letters written at the out-break of the War of Independence in 1775. As we now come to his own experiences in the campaign of 1777, these letters are inserted here.

### LETTER I.

It does not appear by whom this letter was written, but it was penned the day after the action on Bunker's Hill.

*Boston, 18th June, 1775.*

We left Cork early in April, and after a very tedious and disagreeable passage of seven weeks, arrived here on the 26th of last month. On our landing we found everything in the utmost confusion, partly arising from the murmurs of the soldiery, the difference of opinion among the superior officers, the want of fresh provisions, the great unhealthiness of the troops, and above all, the misery of the wretched inhabitants, destitute of food, raiment, or property.

Yesterday morning the troops were ordered under arms at 3 o'clock, on a boat being sent from one of the ships of war to acquaint us that the rebels were raising works in order to besiege us and put us between a cross fire.

The troops destined for service were landed on the Charlestown side between 8 and 9 o'clock, but on account of the number of rebels, the troops did not begin the attack for a considerable time. In the prodigious confusion this place is now in, all I can tell you is that the troops behaved with the most unexampled bravery, and that after an engagement of nearly five hours, we forced the rebels from their posts, redoubts and entrenchments one by one. The victory has cost us very dear, as we have lost some of the best officers in the service, and a great number of private men, nor do I see we enjoy one solid benefit in return, or are likely to reap from it any one advantage whatever. We have indeed learnt one melancholy truth, which is, that the Americans, if they are equally well commanded, are full as good soldiers as ours, and, as it is, are very little inferior to us even in discipline and steadiness of countenance.

Yours etc.

### LETTER II.

FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL THOMAS JAMES, R.A.

*June 23rd, 1775.*

DEAR DOWNMAN,—

We are in thickness of war, we have had two battles<sup>1</sup> already, in the last we carried our point, took the lines and a

<sup>1</sup> Affairs at Lexington, 18th April, and Bunker's Hill, 17th June, 1775.

strong redoubt, with 2,500 men against 7,000. We have upwards of 80 officers killed and wounded, and the flower of the grenadiers and light infantry; some regiments have but five grenadiers left. We had at one gun the officer and volunteer wounded, and but one man without a wound. Lemoine<sup>1</sup> is wounded, so are Huddleston<sup>2</sup> and Shuttleworth.<sup>3</sup> We are well. My volunteer hands have been full. To-morrow I go on another attack, covering the left in my gondolas, which I have made, viz., three with a heavy 12-pr. in each prow. Adieu.

THOMAS JAMES.

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### LETTER III.

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FROM LIEUTENANT JOHN LENTHALL, 23RD FUSILIERS.

TO

LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES, R.A.

*Boston, August 15th, 1775.*

The news in Boston much the same as when you left it. I will collect all I can. Imprimis. We took a captain of a company belonging to General Lee's Virginia Riflemen, who attacked the advanced-guard near to your friends' house in the front of our encampment. They got between the guard and lines owing to the darkness of the night, but ill-timed it, for they attacked us just as the relief came down, which made our party formidable. The rascals called out to us several times to surrender, but to no purpose, for Phil Garlick was in the thick of it, instead of which I gave them a platoon, the other officer did the same, which made them believe we had got intelligence of their design, and had got a strong reinforcement. It obliged them to fight their way back, and we ours up to the lines. They never intended to have fired a shot had not we begun, but their intention was to have taken us all prisoners. They had 300, we 60 men. A narrow escape I assure you. We burnt Penny Ferry House in revenge, and should have taken the whole guard and burnt the barns up Mystick road, had our men behaved like men and soldiers and obeyed orders, which were upon no account to fire even if fired upon, instead of which, without being fired upon, they fired and to mend the matter ran away without even having their fire returned, wounded Captain Sabine of the Marines, who is since dead, and had it not been for myself, who am sure to be in all the fun, they had left him to the mercy of the rebels, but I called to them, and swore I would

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<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Kane's List, No. 277.

<sup>3</sup> Kane's List, No. 481.

fire upon them if they did not return, by which means I got sufficient men to carry him home. Another officer of the same corps went with a party to the lighthouse, was killed and all his party killed or taken prisoners.

Williams<sup>1</sup> of the artillery, has burnt the King's Arms, Roxbury.

a/ Boston is in an uproar, occasioned by a dispute between Admiral Greaves, and Hollowell, the Commissioner of the Customs, about some hay which the latter wanted permission to bring over from one of his own islands, which the other refused to give leave for, unless Mr. Hollowell would give the Admiral half. Admirable! Mr. H. refused. a/ Mr. H. wrote a card, the Admiral sent a verbal answer. They met in the street about 12 at noon, high words ensued, the Admiral gave Mr. H. a box on the ear, Mr. H. returned the blow and knocked his Admiralship down, he got up and was going, nay, had drawn his sword, upon which Mr. H. closed with him, took his sword and broke it in several pieces, and told the Admiral it was not the first time he had drawn his sword like a scoundrel on a naked man.

Since you left us the rebels have hoisted a flag on the high hill, on one side is an appeal to heaven, on the other *Qui transtulit, sustinet*. The devil a one of them come within shot of us lately. We have tumbled down three or four; not one of them appears, but we fire at him as you would at a blackbird on a hedge. The day they hoisted the flag they fired a cannon, and put out a pompous, and like all other things, a lying advertisement, they say when the Israelites fired, the Philistines put themselves in battle array.

We have thrown up a couple of *flèches*, one on the right and another on the left of the road side that we came along on the 19th of April<sup>2</sup> in front of the works. We neither know whether we winter on the hill, or where, or what will become of us.

Colonel Cleaveland<sup>3</sup> has put Mr. Martin under an arrest. Martin told him he would bring him on his knees before the House of Commons for his late behaviour. Cleaveland has offered him his freedom, but he won't accept of it.

Yours etc.

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## PART II.

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### *Campaigns in the American War of Independence, 1777-8.*

The War of Independence had been two years in progress when Captain Downman arrived in New York, in June 1777. But though

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<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 268. Captain Lieutenant Edward Williams.

<sup>2</sup> On the retreat from the affair at Lexington.

<sup>3</sup> Kane's List, No. 83. Commanding the Royal Artillery in North America.

the army had been uniformly successful in its encounters with the American troops, yet, as all the efforts of the English Government to conciliate the rebellious colonies had been fruitless, no real advance had been made towards a settlement of the existing differences. Before giving Downman's personal experiences, it will not be amiss to give a brief outline of events previous to the commencement of his narrative.

The battle of Bunker's Hill, June 1775, was followed by a close blockade of Boston, and at the same time an attempt was made by a rebel force to seize Quebec and win Canada to the side of the colonies, but the inhabitants were thoroughly loyal and the enterprise entirely failed.

In March, 1776, General Howe, who had succeeded General Gage in command of the army, evacuated Boston and retired to Halifax, Nova Scotia, until the arrival of a fleet under Lord Howe, together with reinforcements, enabled him in July to proceed to New York, which Washington had meanwhile occupied with his army. In the operations which followed, the Americans were defeated at the battles of Brooklyn and White Plains, driven from New York and obliged to retire across the Delaware river, while the English forces overran the Jerseys. At the conclusion of this year's campaign, the fortunes of the rebels were at the lowest ebb, and had General Howe utilised to the fullest extent the victories he had won, it is not improbable the war might have been brought to a conclusion.

For the campaign of 1777, a plan was adopted for General Burgoyne to move with a force from Canada by the lakes and unite with one under General Howe from New York. The results contemplated were : to overcome all resistance in the region between the lakes and Albany, to gain undisturbed possession of the river Hudson, thus severing the Eastern from the Western States north of New York, and to conquer Pennsylvania, whose capital Philadelphia was the metropolis of the American states. With these objects in view, about the same time in June that Burgoyne moved from St. John's towards Crown Point and Ticonderoga, General Howe left New York and crossed over to the Jerseys with the intention of bringing General Washington to a general engagement, could he draw him from his strongly intrenched position at Morris Town. Failing to accomplish this, Howe, at the end of the month, returned to New York, and in a few days embarked his troops on board the transports, when, after a long delay, he sailed for the mouth of the river Delaware, but finding the navigation obstructed he steered for Chesapeake Bay. It is during this voyage that Captain Downman begins to record his experiences as follows :—

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## DIARY.

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*From August 11th, 1777, to October 25th, 1778.*

## CHAPTER I.

*The expedition to Chesapeake Bay. The army lands at the head of Elk River. Marches towards Philadelphia. Battle of Brandywine. Entrance into Philadelphia. Captain Downman takes the frigate Delaware.*

On board the *Brilliant*, at sea, August 11th, 1777, being the 19th day since we sailed from Sandy Hook, bound we cannot tell where, but as is generally believed to Virginia. We have had nothing but contrary winds since our sailing. Our fleet consists of 12 or 13 men-of-war and frigates and nearly 300 of other vessels, and about 18,000 troops commanded by Lord and General Howe.

*August 12th.*—This afternoon about 5 o'clock we saw land, but not that part which we want, we being many miles northward of the Capes of Virginia, and the wind is still contrary. In the evening about 7 the Admiral made the signal to tack and stand out. The weather is now insufferably hot.

*August 14th.*—About noon the wind came favourable, and we are now standing towards Chesapeake Bay. In the afternoon we saw the land, and in the evening after dark the Admiral made the signal for the fleet to come to anchor, which they did in eight fathoms of water. We were told by some gentleman who came on board to-day that we were first intended for Philadelphia, but the Admiral learnt while we lay off there that the rebels had a great number of fire stages and other impediments in the river, which induced him to alter his first plan. They said also that General Washington had arrived at the Delaware with his whole force, two days before us.

*August 15th.*—This morning early the fleet got under way, and are standing into the bay of Chesapeake. Our ship has just received orders from the Admiral to lead in the transports. He sent a pilot on board, and desired we would hoist a white jack at the mizen peak and fire a gun for the ships to follow us. We sailed a few miles up the bay, and came to anchor in the evening, as did all the fleet. The rebels made fires on the shore to give notice of our approach. We heard to-day that four rebel ships ran out of the bay last night, and that two of them were taken by one of our men-of-war.

*August 16th.*—This morning the whole fleet set sail, and went up the bay with a fair wind. In the evening we came to anchor near Point Comfort. The fleet had just come to, when a very violent storm of thunder and lightning, wind and rain came on. Our destination is said to be Annapolis, in Maryland. About midnight the storm came on again with greater violence and continued the most of the night, the thunder and lightning incessant.

*August 17th.*—This morning the Admiral made the signal for weighing anchor; about 7 o'clock the whole fleet were under way and are standing up the bay with a fair wind. There does not appear to

have been any damage done last night. To-day is excessively hot, and about noon it became calm, and the fleet came to anchor.

*August 18th.*—This morning about 5 o'clock the fleet got under way and stood up the bay with a fair wind, and about 11 we were opposite Smith's Point. We can see several small vessels belonging to the rebels in shore, also a row galley that keeps to windward; she came as near as she dare venture and fired a shot at the fleet, but it fell short. About noon the whole fleet came to anchor near Smith's Point, the wind being contrary. A packet arrived in the fleet yesterday from England; she called at New York.

*August 19th.*—This morning about 8 o'clock the Admiral made signal to weigh. Wind and tide in our favour, we continued our progress up the bay till the evening about 7 o'clock, when the signal was made for anchoring, and we came to in eight fathoms water near the cliffs of Petuxen, about 32 leagues from Annapolis. A gentleman came on board of us to-day and told us that the *Fox* frigate had been taken by the *Hancock* and *Congress*, two rebel frigates, after an obstinate engagement; that a little time after the three ships were chased by an English frigate, the *Flora*, which was soon after joined by another English frigate, the *Rainbow*, and that they re-took the *Fox* and took the *Hancock*, the other making her escape. The *Flora* had the resolution to give chase to the other three ships, for the rebels had manned the *Fox*. During the chase the four ships were discovered by the *Rainbow*; she at first imagined them to be rebels, but on the *Flora* ranging up alongside the *Fox*, and giving a broadside and hoisting English colours, the *Rainbow* saw what they were and soon came up with them, when the *Hancock* of 36 guns, commanded by one of their best seamen, Admiral Manly, struck to her with little resistance. The rebel frigate that made her escape was the *Boston*.

*August 20th.*—This morning about 6 o'clock the whole fleet got under way and stood up the bay with a fair wind. The country on each side looks extremely pleasant. In the evening about 7 o'clock the whole came to anchor opposite Poplar Island, a few miles from Annapolis, in about seven fathom water.

*August 21st.*—This morning at daylight the fleet got under way and continued up the bay with a fair wind. About 9 o'clock we passed Annapolis, the metropolis of Maryland, a large town all of brick. The rebel colours were flying on both points of the entrance to the river, and there appeared to be some kind of works. Opposite to the town is a little creek where are four or five small vessels at anchor. Our Admiral, we suppose, has given orders that they shall not be molested, for none of our ships or boats have been sent in shore or fired a shot. About noon we passed Maggoty Creek, and about 3 came to anchor at Swan Point. All the morning the rebels were firing cannon along the shore, we imagine to give the alarm and collect themselves. We heard yesterday that General Burgoyne had given the rebels a severe thrashing near Albany.







*August 22nd.*—The fleet got under way in divisions and sailed up the bay as far as Sarafas Creek, and came to anchor not far from Baltimore about 11 a.m. The water is here very shallow and the channel narrow. Ships are sent on ahead to sound and place the marks upon the shoals, which has been done all the way hitherto, so that not one vessel has yet run ashore, though so numerous, and the bay so full of sands. It is no doubt a wonderful sight to the Americans. The country on both sides appears a good deal cultivated and looks very beautiful. We came to anchor about noon a few miles from Turkey Point; in an hour after we got under way again and went nearer to the Point and came to anchor.

*August 23rd.*—This morning we got under way and went up to Turkey Point, and just at the entrance of Elk River we came to in about three fathom water. The country up the bay towards Susquehanna River looks delightful. Several of our small vessels and boats are sent in shore to sound the depth of water; they go in shore without being in the least interrupted by the inhabitants, and it seems worth remarking that we have not had a single shot fired at us from the shore since our entrance, though the ships have sailed and anchored far within musket shot several times. We have seen several of the rebels on the shore and about their houses, and a good number of cattle, by which it seems they either did not expect us here or are well disposed towards us. We are now expecting orders to land every hour. Our guns and stores are all in readiness. It is imagined by some of us that the General's plan is to land all the troops at this place and proceed to Philadelphia; which place is not above fifty miles from us, and that the shipping will return and join us again up the Delaware. This morning early the Admiral and the General went in their barges up the Susquehannah River and other places, also up the Elk River to sound the water, and we imagine to find a convenient place for landing. They were out from 5 a.m. till 2 p.m. They went on board the *Rosbuck* to dinner, as the Admiral's ship lies off Sarafas River at some distance. A very heavy storm of thunder and lightning this evening.

*August 24th.*—This morning about 9, the signal was made from the Admiral to draw provisions, so that we shall land to-day most likely. We were informed to-day that during the Admiral's reconnoitring yesterday he saw 400 rebel horse up the Susquehanna. The army under General Howe, Chesapeake Bay, Turkey Point, August 24th, was composed of:—

British Artillery	...	700
2 Battalions of Grenadiers		
2	"	Light Infantry
2	"	Guards

#### HESSIANS.

Linsing Grenadiers	
Minigerode	"
Lengereke	"
Loos	"

## REGIMENTS.

4th, 17th, 37th, 46th, 5th,	du Corps. Donop.
23rd, 40th, 49th, 10th, 27th,	Miabach. Chasseurs.
42nd, 55th, 15th, 33rd, 44th,	1st Battn. Anspach.
64th ; 71st, 16th Lt. Drag'ns	Jägers. Pioneers.

*August 25th.*—This morning early the grenadiers and light infantry got into the flat boats, proceeded up the Elk river, and landed at the ferry without opposition. I was ordered on board the *Unity*, which weighed anchor and sailed up the river. About noon we came to anchor, and the different brigades of artillery landed as fast as they could. Part of the army were advanced about five miles into the country; the rest were posted along the hills near the water-side. The whole lay under arms all night, which proved a very bad one. I am posted with four 8-pounders with the 71st regiment.

*August 26th.*—The army keep their ground. The artillery are landing their stores, etc. This night was exceedingly bad. The army still untented.

*August 27th.*—The army still on their first ground. We are informed that Washington's army is strongly intrenched on Brandywine heights. I received orders about noon to-day to quit my 8-pounders, and take command of the 2nd brigade of heavy artillery, consisting of two medium 12-pounders, two light 12-pounders, and two 5½ inch howitzers, with their waggons, and to march directly. I set off about 3 o'clock following the 1st brigade. We went about five miles and lay under arms all night. The country is beautiful, not many houses, but the ground that is cultivated seems to be in good order and yielding corn plentifully. We have met with no enemy as yet, nor any friends. The country is quite deserted. Cattle and other things have been met with and found very acceptable. General Howe has given strict orders against any kind of marauding, but it is not in anyone's power to prevent this where there is so large an army and such a mixture of troops. The Hessians are famous and infamous for their plundering.

*August 28th.*—This morning about 4 o'clock the Hessian grenadiers began to move from their ground, and I followed them. We continued our march till about 1 o'clock, when we came to Head of Elk, about 12 miles, a most fatiguing march, the roads exceeding bad, horses very bad, and the sun intensely hot, with nothing to eat or drink but apples and water. This is the county town, and there are several very good brick houses, but the inhabitants are all fled except a Mr. Alexander at whose house our General resides. The grenadiers and light infantry are advanced a few miles. I was informed by a sick man who ventured to stay in his house, that General Washington dined here the day before yesterday, and had with him 500 light horse, and that this morning a party of the rebels left the town just before we entered it. The rebel army are a few miles from us at Iron Hill or thereabout. The light infantry, in taking possession of a hill about a mile off, exchanged a few shots with some rebel light horse. The artillery are formed into a park at the back of the town, and ourselves and men are encamped. It seems we are to remain here a few days to recruit our horses and put everything in proper order and proceed to Philadelphia.

*August 29th.*—We remain on our ground without molestation. The weather intensely hot.

*August 30th.*—This morning a small party of dragoons, mounted and dismounted, went out with General Howe reconnoitring; soon after their departure we heard several shots fired in a wood a mile from the town. They saw some rebel light horse. Sent a letter to Colonel James through Montresor.

*August 31st.*—A strong detachment under General Cornwallis marched out this morning to destroy a small magazine. They met with some rebels, whom they drove off. The 23rd regiment had a man killed and four or five wounded, the light dragoons had a man killed and three wounded. Several of the inhabitants have come into the town. General Howe has issued a proclamation promising pardon and protection to all who will accept of it. It is said by some deserters that Washinton with 7,000 men is at Iron Hill about four miles from us. Two soldiers of the 71st regiment were found a little way from the camp with their throats cut. It is supposed they were plundering and were set upon by some lurking rebels. Three grenadiers were taken also by the rebels, and four or five artillerymen are missing, supposed to be taken, or deserted.

*September 1st, 1777.*—Two men of the artillery went off last night. There has been some skirmishing this morning. Two rebel officers and three men taken and one killed, without any loss on our side.

*September 2nd.*—This day, about 12 o'clock, the two heavy brigades of artillery struck tents and marched from the Head of Elk about a mile and a half, and then encamped with the Hessian grenadiers. We are informed that Lord Stirling<sup>1</sup> is at Iron Hill with a strong party of

<sup>1</sup> William Alexander known as Lord Stirling, was born at New York in 1726, the son of James Alexander, an engineer officer in the army of the Pretender. He served as private secretary on the staff of General Shirley in America and with him was present at the greater part of the war against the French. When Shirley was summoned to England in 1756, young Alexander accompanied him. During the five years he was in England he prosecuted his claim to the Earldom of Stirling, (as heir male to the 5th Earl, who died without issue) on grounds of descent from John Alexander uncle of the 1st Earl. His claim was admitted by a jury in Scotland, but was disallowed by the House of Lords because he failed to show that heirs in the direct line were extinct. Before this decision was arrived at, he had returned to America and adopted the title which he retained to the end of his life. At the outbreak of the war of Independence, in 1776, he sided with the Colonists, served through the war and was made a Major-General. He was an excellent officer. Previous to his visit to England in 1756, he married Sarah Livingston, sister of Governor Livingston of New Jersey, and had two daughters. He died January 15th, 1783.

A few words may be added about the 1st Earl, the poet (1580-1640), the friend and pet of Kings James I., and Charles I. who created him,

Lord Alexander of Tullibrodie.  
Viscount of Canada.  
Viscount and Earl of Stirling.  
Earl of Dovan.

With these titles he received the following gifts, by charter or letters patent, in the New World.—

- (1.) Nova Scotia.
- (2.) Canada including 50 leagues of bounds on both sides of the St. Lawrence River, and the Great Lakes.
- (3.) A 'Tract' of Maine and the Island of Stirling (Long Island) and the Islands adjacent.

The "Tract of Maine" embraced all east of the Kennibec River to Nova Scotia and included Newfoundland. It was a prodigious gift.

He had also given him the power to create one hundred and fifty "Baronets of Nova Scotia," nearly fifty of which titles exist to the present day. An interesting memoir of the Earl of Stirling, (from which these particulars are taken), has been published by Ludwig Schumacher. New York, 1897.

rebels.

*September 3rd.*—This morning at 5 o'clock we began our march towards Iron Hill. The grenadiers, light infantry, jägers and Queen's rangers<sup>1</sup> in front, the heavy artillery following the Hessian grenadiers. After marching a little way, a smart firing began in our front. The rebels fired as usual from the fences and trees. It was briskly returned on our side and they were pursued for some time. The army went about six miles and encamped at the foot of Iron Hill. The guards and 27th regiment are in possession of the summit. On our march we saw a number of the rebels killed; the wounded were either carried off or crawled into the bushes for none were to be seen. Between 40 and 50 of the rebels were buried by our pioneers, and it is imagined many more are killed in the woods. I saw in a field a corporal and five men lying near together, killed by grape shot. Five others bearing captains' commissions and a field officer, were carried to the General. A General Maxwell commanded the whole here, and it is thought they had upwards of 1,500 men. We had only two or three killed and about twenty wounded. Some deserters came in to-day. They mention Washington's being at Christian's or Brandywine Creek with 13,000 or 15,000 men and a number of cannon, strongly posted. We entered Pennsylvania this day, having passed a large stone that is the boundary mark.

*September 4th.*—Remain on our ground very quiet. This afternoon I walked up to Iron Hill, and had a view of part of the Delaware river at the distance of about eight miles.

*September 7th.*—This day about noon the army received orders to be ready to march at an hour's notice. We struck tents immediately and got everything in readiness. Lay under arms all night.

*September 8th.*—About 4 a.m. the 1st division of the army began their march; the 2nd and 3rd followed according to orders. We went through Newark, a deserted and destroyed village. The front and centre of the army got to the heights of (blank) in the afternoon, but the rear guard to which I belonged, with the 2nd brigade of artillery, did not reach our ground till 11 o'clock at night, after a very disagreeable march of 16 hours without anything to eat, and almost suffocated with dust, owing to the vast train of baggage waggons and cattle that were in front. We did not meet with the smallest interruption in our march from the rebels, for we took a different road to that which they expected, and where they had raised works and collected a force. Mr. Washington is now encamped about three miles from us on a very strong ground with 20,000 men. The Congress is sitting at Philadelphia and have sent positive orders to him to come to action. Our General and other officers are going to reconnoitre with a very strong detachment. In all probability a day or two will decide the fate of America.

*September 9th.*—About 5 o'clock this afternoon we began to move forward, and made a forced march all night through bad roads. Halted in the morning about 6 at Kennet Square. Skirmishing in front; the rebels have had some loss.

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Simcoe's Queen's Ranger Hussars, a corps of Provincial horse.

*September 10th.*—About 5 o'clock this afternoon moved forward and encamped.

*September 11th.*—This morning about 6 o'clock the army began to move, one part to the left under General Howe, the other to the right under Knyphausen with intention to divide the enemy's force and to cross the Brandywine Creek at two fords. About 8 or 9 o'clock this morning a very heavy fire began in front, which continued some time between our advanced corps and the rebels, who were posted very strongly in the woods and on the hills facing the ford of the creek. The heavy artillery was ordered to make haste, and we galloped our horses some time, but were prevented from continuing the road by reason of trees being cut down and laid across. We turned into a wood and after a little difficulty got into a road that brought us to a very advantageous situation within shot of the rebel batteries on the other side of the creek. We immediately began to fire upon them from our 12 pounders and howitzers, and they returned it very smartly. This continued for some time, likewise a heavy fire of infantry and artillery in the woods to our right. Presently a total silence ensued. General Knyphausen ordered us to leave off. We began to be uneasy about General Howe, for a great force of the rebels marched from the hills and woods before us towards him, but about noon our doubts were eased, for we heard a firing on our left, at first gentle, but in a little very heavy indeed both of cannon and musketry. About 1 o'clock we saw the rebels running in multitudes out of the woods. We now began again with all our artillery to play on the flying scoundrels; the fire was returned by them from all their batteries. At this very time General Knyphausen ordered the troops under his command to pass the creek, which they did in the face of the enemy's batteries and a heavy fire of musketry. We now saw our brave fellows under Howe push out of the wood after the rebels. We renew our fire from the artillery to scour the woods, they fly from all quarters, and our troops rush on their batteries and take them. By this time it has begun to be dark; a few hours more daylight would have given us a more complete victory. As it is, their loss in killed and wounded is very considerable. We have suffered likewise, but not so much as might be expected from the strength of their situation and their numbers, our loss being about 400 killed and wounded. It is impossible to ascertain how many of the rebels are killed or wounded, but they are to be seen all over the fields and woods; they themselves say 1,000; no doubt it is more. I have heard by some deserters that their army with the militia amounted to upwards of 25,000 men, others say 20,000. We have taken 10 pieces of brass cannon, one iron, and a quantity of ammunition, and about 400 prisoners. We crossed the Brandywine Creek and lay on our arms all night. The deserters inform us that the rebel army is struck with the utmost panic, flying along every road as fast as their legs can carry them, and that the morning after the defeat, 27 waggons of wounded were seen going towards Philadelphia, besides those which are to be seen in almost every house you come to. One officer and 16 men of our artillery were killed and wounded.

*September 12th.*—This day at 1 o'clock we advanced with the artillery as far as Delworth and there formed a park. A part of the army encamped about us, head quarters being about a mile from us. One part of the army are in possession of Wilmington and another of Chester, two places a few miles from us on the Delaware. Our sick and wounded were sent to Wilmington to be put on board our ships. General Howe returned thanks to the army for their excellent behaviour. A long march of 16 miles, an exceeding hot day, a superior number of troops strongly posted in woods and hills, with a number of cannon, are obstacles which none but British troops can overcome.

The *Roebuck* and a number of our ships arrived at Wilmington in the Delaware river some days ago.

Sent an account thus far to W. Downman.

Bought a horse for two guineas, two dollars.

From the 12th to this day, 16th, we have lain at Delworth without anything of consequence happening. We have been busy in sending off the sick and wounded, and collecting horses to put into the rebel cannon and waggons. This morning early we left Delworth and had a most miserable march to Goshen, where we lay all night. It rained incessantly the whole day and night, and the rebels molested our march by firing on us from woods and fences, but they were driven off as usual with considerable loss. Washington is retiring as fast as we advance. He beats us in running but in nothing else. His whole care and attention is to keep out of our reach and our only wish is to be able to come up with him. Deserters are hourly coming in to us. A rebel general was killed to-day and a good number of men. Our loss hitherto has been inconsiderable.

*September 17th.*—We again set forward about 10 in the morning through dreadful roads. We had advanced about a mile and a half down a hill, when word was brought that the artillery were in the wrong road. We had to turn about in a narrow road, which took up so much time that we could only get about 300 yards from the place we had left when it became quite dark and rain came on. We were ordered to remain all night.

*September 18th.*—This morning at three o'clock we began our march towards the Schuylkill in pursuit of Washington; a little popping in the front, some rebels killed. Deserters say Mr. Washington is making off as fast as he can, and that his army is murmuring and dissatisfied. We imagine he is going to Virginia. A French General<sup>1</sup> in the rebel service was drowned in passing the Schuylkill. We took a number of prisoners, among them a Lieut.-Colonel and a Major. We came to Valley Forge in the afternoon and encamped.

*September 19th.*—We have taken from the rebels a magazine of 5,000 barrels of flour, a quantity of rum, 150 horses, a number of waggons, and other stores in abundance. We are now about three miles from a ford on the Schuylkill, which is only 18 miles from Philadelphia.

<sup>1</sup> The Marquis de la Fayette and several other French and Polish noblemen were officers in the American Army, and present at the battle of Brandywine.



*September 20th.*—The army received orders to march this morning, but these were countermanded on account of the height of the Schuylkill from the late rain. This morning about 12 o'clock a strong detachment from our army, under the command of General Grey, surprised a body of 1,500 or 2,000 rebels who were intending to attack our rear on the march. They were commanded by a General Wane. Between 500 and 600 were put to death on the spot without firing a single shot. The bayonet did the business completely. 160 prisoners were taken. General Grey returned about 1 o'clock in the morning to his camp having lost only one Captain killed and 12 men killed and wounded.

*September 21st.*—The army marched very quietly over a branch of the Schuylkill near the Forge and store houses called Valley Forge. We lay all night. Some skirmishing in front.

*September 22nd.*—This afternoon two detachments passed the Schuylkill, the one above, the other below the headquarters at Fat Land ford. They met with hardly any opposition; some artillery was ordered to cover their going over. At six o'clock this afternoon the heavy brigade of artillery was ordered to march towards a ford on the Schuylkill called (blank); the night was very dark. We recrossed the little branch of the Schuylkill at the Forge with great difficulty and lay on our arms till about one o'clock in the morning, fine moonlight, when we again set forward, reaching the banks of the river just as the day began to dawn.

*September 23rd.*—We passed with the cannon very well, and proceeded to a rising ground where we halted for some time, then again proceeded to Norrington, where we halted for the night. The river at the ford is about three feet deep, very rapid, and about 80 to 100 yards wide. If the rebels had the least spirit or resolution they might have defended this pass; not that they would have prevented our getting over, but they might have killed us a number of men. I believe there is not an army in the universe better disposed or in better order to fight than this one. The rebels fly before us; they run whenever we advance. They say we are mad or drunk or we would never dash in among them as we do. Our light infantry are the finest set of fellows in the world for this mode of fighting.

The country now begins to open out the nearer we get to the metropolis, and there is some variety in the prospect. Cultivation is more perceptible. Hitherto we have seen scarce anything but a continuation of wood, with now and then a small farm house and a field of Indian corn. The army, however, has been well supplied with fresh meat and flour, and abundance of forage for the horses. Very few of the inhabitants have remained in their houses, those who have alone saving their effects. It is otherwise with the deserted houses.

*September 24th.*—We left Norrington and marched to Germantown without opposition. The Allens met their father and families at this place, all well. We encamped here; a very rainy disagreeable night.

*September 25th.*—This morning orders were given for six 12 pounders and four howitzers, the British and Hessian grenadiers, and two

squadrons of horse to march to Philadelphia. The artillery were in front, the day was very fine, we entered the town with drums and music, the roads and streets were crowded with people who huzzaed and seemed overjoyed to see us. Whether they were pleased or not at our entrance, they must have been struck with the appearance of a body of such fine fellows as the British grenadiers. It was a fine sight.

*September 26th.*—Early this morning appeared in sight over Gloucester Point below the town, two frigates, five galleys, and a sloop, beating up towards the town. I had the honour to command two 12 pounders and two howitzers. I had everything ready to receive them in a little time. My guns were drawn down on the bank entirely exposed. I received the disagreeable orders not to fire at the ships until they fired at me, which made me extremely uneasy. They came very near us; they still came nearer—within 300 or 400 yards. A shot was fired from one of my guns at them. They hoisted rebel colours, and soon after began to fire. This gave me pleasure for then I could fire with safety. We began a brisk cannonade from all our guns; it was returned by them with both round and grape shot, and their galleys, which were at a greater distance, kept up a fire upon us likewise, and fired many good shots though fortunately they did no harm. One of the frigates called the *Delaware* came within musket shot of our guns, and fired several rounds of grape. We plied her very close and threw her crew into such confusion that they neglected the management of the sails, and after a few more badly directed shot, she ran aground close to our guns. We still kept up the fire, and in a short time she struck her colours. We hailed her and desired her crew to come ashore, which they did, and a party of men was sent on board her. Our fire now was immediately bent upon the other frigate and the row galleys, and our shot was so well plied that they were obliged to put about and stand down the river very much disabled. It was Commodore Alexander's frigate we took; she mounted twenty-two 12 pounders and six 6-pounders, and had on board 152 men who were all landed given in charge to the Provost; they lost but very few people and we not one. One of the galleys was obliged to run ashore on the Jersey side to prevent her from sinking. The frigate was set on fire during the action by our shots, but happily we soon put it out. The same afternoon a number of rebel sailors entered voluntarily on board of her to fight on our side. Strange work! She was very soon got off into the channel and made ready for action. We expect every hour to be at it again, for there are no less than 13 row galleys and other vessels to the tune of 26, about eight miles below us, and as soon as our ships can pass the obstacles in the river we may expect them up. A great number of the rebel ships are likewise above the town. Sometime in the afternoon a schooner attempted to pass the town downward. In a very few shots we dismasted and so disabled her that she ran ashore just opposite the town, but as we lacked boats to send to her, they carried her away in the night after unloading her. Thus ended the insolent attempt of their boasting Commodore, with two

frigates and five galleys, each carrying a 32 or 24 pounder, opposed only by four 12 pounders and two howitzers, three of those being drawn up on the bank without the least covering. We have taken several iron cannon within a few miles from town, 12 and 18 pounders. We proved them; two 18-pounders burst to pieces, but did no damage.

A copy of Captain Downman's report of the action with the frigate *Delaware* being among his papers, it is inserted here :—

TO COLONEL PATTISON,<sup>1</sup>  
COMMANDING R.A.

SIR,—

I have the honour to report that early in the morning of September 26th, two rebel ships, five galleys, and an armed sloop were seen beating up from Gloucester Point to Philadelphia. I commanded at the lower end of the town four medium 12 pounders and two 5½ inch howitzers, and gave directions for everything to be in readiness for action. Captain Standish<sup>2</sup> commanded the same number of guns at the upper part of the town. In the preceding night a platform had been laid for only two of the 12 pounders; the other two and one of the howitzers were therefore placed upon the bank by the water-side as conveniently as the ground would admit. The ships and galleys by this time were approaching very fast. I had received orders not to fire till I was fired at; the situation was disagreeable for the largest ship was within 400 yards, and in another tack or two would have been alongside our guns. She had hoisted before this time rebel colours. A gun was now fired at her, the shot went on board, and we could plainly discover threw the people into confusion. She returned the fire, joined by the other ship and all the galleys. The fire was become general and continued so for some time. The largest ship still seemed inclined to push past our guns, but by receiving some shot, and a shell which set her on fire, the people were thrown into great disorder, neglected the management of the sails, and she ran aground within 250 yards of our guns. In this situation she remained several minutes and fired many rounds. She then struck her colours. Whilst she was aground, Lieutenant Vaughan<sup>3</sup> with two 6 pounders was ordered to a rising ground retired from the water. He fired three shots before she surrendered. A non-commissioned officer was sent to hail her, and order their boat on shore, which command was instantly complied with, and as no artillerymen could possibly be spared from the guns, which were now all turned on the other ship and galleys, ten of the grenadiers were sent on board, and with them

<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 55. Colonel J. Pattison commanded the R.A. during the latter part of the American War. He was appointed Commandant of New York, July 6th, 1779. He died, March 1st, 1805.

<sup>2</sup> Kane's List, No. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Kane's List, No. 415. Lieutenant T. L. Vaughan was killed in the action at Freehold Courthouse, New Jersey, June 28th, 1778.

went Captain Moncrieffe<sup>1</sup> of the Engineers, by whose activity and cleverness the fire was extinguished. So far from any other soldiers than artillery taking the ship, there was not one man to assist at the guns; many of the townspeople did, and were very serviceable. The ship taken was the *Delaware*, a rebel frigate of twenty-two 12 pounders and 152 men. The other ship carried 20 guns, some of them 18 pounders. The galleys had each an 18 or a 24 pounder.

I have the honor to be, etc., etc., etc.,

FRANCIS DOWNMAN, Captain Royal Artillery.

## CHAPTER II.

*The attack on Germantown. Preparations to attack the Fort on Mud Island. The rebels attack the battery at Province Island. The attack on Red Bank. News of General Burgoyne.*

September 28th, 1777.—General Howe came to town to-day. Lord Cornwallis commands in town. Our chief commands the army encamped. Washington, it seems, is hovering about us, but is afraid to venture near. A great number of the inhabitants have remained in town. I don't know how their hearts are disposed but they carry pleasure in their faces. Mr. Rocher, a clergyman, was taken into custody to-day just as he came out of church; he has been preaching against the King, and influencing the minds of the people for this three years, and this morning had the barefaced impudence to preach for His Majesty. His *finesse* would not do. A great number of the rebels desert to us every day.

From this day to October 3rd nothing very particular has happened. No vessels have attempted to pass the town. Colonel Sterling with his regiment the 42nd, and the 10th, was sent to Chester; from thence he crossed the Delaware with the assistance of our men-of-war, took and destroyed Billingsport, a fort of eight cannon on the Jersey side, and then returned. A good deal of firing from the galleys at our ships that are trying to move the *chevaux-de-frise*<sup>2</sup> sunk in the

<sup>1</sup> This able officer performed such meritorious services during the war, that it is of interest to give the following particulars. Sir Henry Clinton thus mentions him in connection with the siege of Charlestown, May, 1780:—"But to Major Moncrieffe, the Commanding Engineer, who planned, and, with the assistance of such capable officers under him, conducted the siege with so much judgment, intrepidity, and laborious attention, I wish to render a tribute of the very highest applause and most permanent gratitude; persuaded that far more flattering commendation than I can bestow will not fail to crown such rare merit".

Of this officer it may be remarked, that he was not more happy in the possession of superior talents, than fortunate in occasions to display them. The successive sieges of Savannah [October, 1779] and Charlestown furnished him with opportunities of exemplifying his skill in the two principal branches of his profession; the art of defence and that of attack; in both, his masterly designs were crowned with success; nor is it easy to determine in which of them his great attainments in his profession shone with highest lustre. *Stedman's History of American War*, Vol. II, page 187.

<sup>2</sup> The *chevaux-de-frise* consisted of three rows of immense beams of timber, bolted and fastened together and stuck with spikes. It was sunk across the river a little below the place where the Schuylkill empties itself into the Delaware. The upper line was flanked by a fort on Mud Island and the works at Red Bank; the lower, by works on the Jersey shore at Billing's Port. When the fort was taken; Captain Hammond in the *Roebuck*, made an opening in the lower line. *Stedman*, Vol. I, p. 296.

channel by the rebels. It is reported that Washington is near the town with his whole army, and by intercepted letters we learn he is collecting all his force, with an intention to make an attack on our camp at Germantown.

*October 4th, 1777.*—In the morning during our march I heard a great deal of firing of cannon near Germantown. I was informed that General Washington with his whole army of 25,000 men had taken advantage of a thick fog, and the supposed absence of a number of our troops, to make an attack upon our advanced body, the 2nd battalion of light troops. They sustained the enemy's whole force for a considerable time till others came to their assistance. The fire then became pretty general and very warm, and continued so for some time. At length the rebels gave way in all quarters in the utmost confusion, leaving behind them a great number of slain and prisoners, five of their generals, 500 slain, buried by us, besides wounded carried off and 500 prisoners. Our loss is not very considerable. General Agnew and Colonel Bird are killed; Colonel Walcot, 5th regiment, is dangerously wounded, and about 350 officers and men killed and wounded, of these 60 killed, and between 300 and 400 wounded. The light 12 pounders and fieldpieces had a share in the day's action, and had several men wounded. Traill<sup>1</sup>, Stewart<sup>2</sup> and Huddleston<sup>3</sup> were with the light 12 pounders. During the engagement in Germantown, Colonel Musgrave had the good fortune to throw his regiment, the 40th, into a large house,<sup>4</sup> from which he did very great execution, notwithstanding the rebels had four pieces of cannon playing upon the house with round and grape shot, making it like a riddle, and he lost but very few men. The rebel army was pursued by some of our troops a good way beyond Chestnut Hill, but they had taken the precaution of having a great number of horses to their guns, by which means they escaped.

*October 6th.*—The rebels have got about 40 vessels near the *chevaux-de-frise* and have been firing all the afternoon, and till 10 o'clock at night, at the *Roebuck* and other of our ships that are near them. We learn to-day that Lord Howe is arrived in the *Delaware*.

*October 7th.*—The 8 inch howitzer and mortars are preparing for service; we suppose, to fire on the rebel fleet.

*October 8th.*—This afternoon at 4 o'clock Captain Standish marched with the 8 inch howitzer, 8 inch mortars, and two medium 12 pounders, escorted by some grenadiers and 10th regiment, down to the ferry near the entrance of the Schuylkill, to destroy the rebel shipping, to endeavour to land on Province Island,<sup>5</sup> and to silence their forts on Mud Island. About 10 o'clock this night we heard a great firing from the rebel fleet, which continued a good while. They were firing at our battery of two 12 pounders on the point of the Schuylkill.

<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 221. Captain Peter Traill.

<sup>2</sup> Kane's List, No. 247. Captain John Stewart.

<sup>3</sup> Kane's List, No. 277. Captain W. O. Huddleston.

<sup>4</sup> Chew's House.

<sup>5</sup> Formed by the junction of the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers about three miles below Philadelphia.

*October 9th.*—I was ordered to march to the ferry to relieve Captain Standish. I got there in the evening. He had not crossed the river.

*October 10th.*—I continued in the battery at the entrance of the Schuylkill, the galleys now and then giving us a shot without effect. We are situated in full view of their whole fleet of 30 differently armed vessels at the distance of about a mile. A party of our men with engineers passed the ferry this afternoon, and during the night threw up a battery.

*October 11th.*—About 1 o'clock this morning Captain Montresor<sup>1</sup> informed me that the battery on Province Island was ready to receive the howitzers and mortars, and desired me to march and cross the ferry directly. I got there about half past 2, and had got an 8 inch howitzer in the flat, but for want of some care the flat went to the bottom in an instant, with several men and horses, and one of each was drowned. This accident prevented our doing anything further for the night. In the fore part of the evening two 12 pounders had been taken over, and one of them dragged up to the battery through a mile of mud and water, for the whole island is a flat, and from rain, and the rebels cutting the embankment, the whole was nearly under the water. The battery is raised within 400 or 500 yards of the fort on Mud Island and open to all the rebel shipping, and their galleys can go within 150 yards of it. About 6 o'clock this morning the rebels discovered our work, and began and continued a constant fire from all their vessels and batteries upon it till about 4 in the afternoon. About 10 in the morning they landed some troops who marched up to the battery, attacked our people and for a little time were in possession of it. Our force on the island at this time was very small, not above 200 men; they were in great danger of being cut off and losing the two 12 pounders. A Major V . . . commanded; he was hurrying off the island in boats as fast as he could, and had he not been prevented, the island would undoubtedly have been in the possession of the enemy. He was ordered back to support those that remained, and by the activity of Captain Moncrieffe the battery was re-taken, and some soldiers. As it was, the rebels carried off 50 prisoners of the grenadiers and 10th regiment, who, I am sorry to say did not behave as they ought to have done. Four artillerymen were taken, and an ammunition waggon was blown up by a shot. I was relieved by Capt. Standish about 5 this afternoon. In the night one 12 pounder was drawn off the battery and brought near the ferry house. The howitzer that was sunk in the flat was got up again, and the two pieces with the mortars and ammunition waggons all crossed the ferry, and remain there till the battery is ready to receive them.

*October 12th.*—This morning the rebels began again to fire and kept it up for some time. They have killed and wounded some of ours. They landed a party of men, but they were soon driven off again. The engineers are going to-night to strengthen the battery and raise some works. I rode from town this morning, crossed the ferry and

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<sup>1</sup> Chief Engineer.

walked to the shore within 400 yards of their floating battery, and returned to town in the evening.

*October 13th.*—This afternoon at 3 o'clock I marched from town with a detachment to relieve Captain Standish on Province Island, crossed the ferry and remained till 12 at night, when the Engineer informed me the battery was ready for the howitzer and mortar. I set off directly across the causeway, but horses and waggons falling over the bridges through the badness of the roads, we did not get to the ferry house, only a mile, till 3 in the morning. It was then thought that daylight would be coming on before the things could be taken to the battery, therefore we remained here all day.

*October 14th.*—This evening about 10 o'clock I moved from the farm house with an 8 inch mortar and howitzer down to the battery facing the fort on Mud Island, and got them into it after a great deal of difficulty from the shockingness of the road, which is nearly all under water and has many deep holes in it. Everything here is carried on by night, for in the daytime the rebels fire both round and grape shot at anybody they see. This night was very favourable, for the island was covered with a thick fog, and under this cover another battery was begun and finished before daylight, to contain a howitzer and 8 inch mortar, which were also got down and ready to open as soon as the fog cleared up. These two batteries are exactly opposite the fort at the distance of about 600 yards. The batteries are 200 yards apart, but have a safe communication by means of the embankment which serves as a breastwork for the battery guards. The rebel boats were rowing about a good deal in the night, and seem to be preparing for some fun.

*October 15th.*—The fog did not clear up so that we could distinguish anything plainly till about 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning, when I fired the first howitzer into the fort. The other battery began directly after me, and we kept up the ball for some time without their returning a shot. At length they began and fired very briskly at us, but did no damage. This morning another battery of ours, of two iron 18 pounders, opened upon the rebel shipping and fort; unfortunately one of these guns burst and badly wounded two or three men. This battery was begun and finished in the night; its situation is on the point of Province Island near the Schuylkill, and it is called the Pest-house battery. Immediately after our fire commenced, the whole rebel fleet moved out of reach in great hurry and confusion, receiving some damage from our shells. Their Commodore and large ships went near Gloucester Point, and their floating batteries, galleys, fire ships, and rafts went under the Jersey shore at Red Bank, where they are collecting forces and raising works. I was relieved this evening by Captain Standish from one of the most horrid commands that ever man was upon, the whole place under water, and the battery itself knee deep, almost torn to pieces by the rebel shot, and made so badly at first that several shot have gone through, and we have no safety in it but by lying down on the platform.

*October 16th.*—The batteries have been firing a good deal this morning. This afternoon I relieved Captain Standish on the Island. A rebel barge with eight men deserted to us this day.

*October 17th.*—We fired a good many shells from our batteries into the fort.

*October 18th.*—I visited all the batteries on the island and fired several shells, which the rebels returned, but did us no mischief. We have it reported that General Burgoyne has been defeated,<sup>1</sup> and that General Clinton has taken Fort Montgomery and some other places on the North river by storm.<sup>2</sup>

*October 19th.*—I went to the batteries this morning and began to fire on the fort. The rebels opened all their batteries and blockhouses upon us; their grape shot came so thick that we could not stand to our guns. They damaged the middle battery so much that I was obliged to desist altogether from firing from it. One of our shells set fire to a quantity of powder in the fort. The rebels opened a battery from Red Bank and threw several shot over our 12 pounder battery. Two medium 12 pounders are fixed at this battery in lieu of the two rebel 18 pounders, one of which burst, the other was hauled off and is not to be fired any more. I returned to town, and made my report to the General of the damage the batteries had sustained. Orders were sent down not to fire any more till they were put in proper order again. An escort went last night to Chester to bring from the ships a 13 inch mortar, etc. Lord Howe and the fleet are now there. General Howe and the whole army are moved from Germantown close to Philadelphia, where redoubts are throwing up and other works, quite from the upper part of the town to the Schuylkill.

*October 20th.*—This morning about 4 o'clock a firing of cannon and musketry was heard near Gloucester Point. We roused all hands up and went to our batteries in town along the shore. We heard a number of boats rowing. We thought the galleys were coming to fire on the town, and just before daylight they came within hail of our sentry. They answered they came from our fleet. Twelve flat-bottomed boats, under the command of Captain Clayton, had pushed up in the night, and boldly run under the enemy's forts and batteries, and passed their whole fleet with the loss of one man. These boats come up with provisions etc., we imagine to facilitate a landing on the Jersey shore. This afternoon a great deal of cannon firing below, from our row galley and some of our advanced ships, and the rebel galleys and the forts and our batteries. This morning Major Farrington<sup>3</sup> came to me from

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<sup>1</sup> The action of October 7th, in which (after a hardly contested fight against superior numbers), a portion of General Burgoyne's intrenched position near Saratoga was carried at the end of the day. The brave and able General Frazer was killed; 200 prisoners, nine pieces of artillery, all the equipage of a German brigade and a large amount of ammunition (of which the enemy were much in need) were captured.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Clinton on October 6th, stormed and took forts Clinton and Montgomery situated on the north branch of the Hudson. The object was to open communications up the river with Albany, which would be useful when Burgoyne had established himself there. At this date nothing was known of his difficulties.

<sup>3</sup> Kane's List, No. 84.



Brigadier-General Cleaveland<sup>1</sup> to request that I would take the command of two 5½ inch howitzers ordered for immediate service. I was not ordered, he said, but the General hoped I would go as the service required a good officer. Ha! Ha! Ha! They were to be ready to embark at 4 o'clock in the morning. I had everything ready by 3 o'clock, the morning rainy and very cold at first, but cleared up as the day advanced.

*October 21st.*—Three battalions of Hessian grenadiers, one ditto Minigerode, one ditto Mirbach, with ten Hessian 3 pounder guns, and myself with the howitzers, began to embark in the flat-bottomed boats and other craft from the wharf at the upper end of the town, and crossed over to the Jersey side, landing without the least opposition. The whole were commanded by Colonel Donop. We began our march as soon as the last artillery were over, and about 8 o'clock at night came to Haddonfield, where we remained till 4 o'clock next morning.

*October 22nd.*—We again set forward and only had a few popping shots between this place and Red Bank where the rebels have raised a strong fort with cannon. It is absolutely necessary that we be in possession of this fort for it not only protects their vessels, but also would annoy our shipping very much in passing whenever we are lucky enough to get over their *chevaux-de-frise*, and it likewise commands Mud Island, so that should we take Mud Island, unless we had this fort also we should be very much disturbed from it. For these reasons General Howe ordered a detachment to storm it. Colonel Donop asked to be employed on this service, which was granted him, and myself and men were the only English on this duty. We arrived before the place about one o'clock; at noon we examined it, and saw the rebels at work which showed that the fort was not finished, or that they were adding something to it on hearing we were near them. I think, therefore, we should have stormed it directly without the least loss of time as it was to be done in daylight, but instead of an immediate attack, we did not begin till 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The advancing of the troops was preceded by a brisk and close fire of all our artillery which continued some little time. Colonel Donop then ordered the whole to cease, and called to his troops to advance. They did so with a quantity of fascines to fill up the ditch in front of the fort. Then began a very hot and close fire from the rebels, both of cannon and musketry which was kept up without intermission from the time our troops advanced till they retreated again. It is hard to say what was the cause of this attempt failing, but so it did, and whether from inability of the troops to fill up the ditch and mount the breastwork, from the loss of Colonel Donop and a number of officers at the first onset, or from being flanked by the row galleys with grape shot, whether from being tired from the march, or from want of spirit and activity to push forward over those who were killed and wounded in the front, is what I shall not presume to determine. It is enough to

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<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 83.

say that we were obliged to retire, and that in much confusion, for by this time it was quite dark. We retired about a mile all in bustle and disorder, then stopped about an hour or so to get the troops disposed into some order, and to collect the wounded and carry them in the best way we could, for not a waggon was thought of, and had it not been for the ammunition waggons a number must have been left behind. This night's march was as melancholy and as disagreeable a one as ever I experienced; it was dark and excessively cold; the roads were deep and narrow and enclosed with wood; we lost our way twice and had to turn about the guns and waggons in the narrow road; the very worst of all manœuvres. The horses were very bad and almost tired out, the drivers were a set of scoundrels. Add to this the groans of the wounded; the idea of being attacked in the rear by a sally from the fort while pent up in a road where we could not possibly make use of our cannon, and the probability of an encounter in front or flanks, for until day appeared we had no flanking parties out. We were lucky in meeting with no molestation except a few shot that did no harm. About daylight of the 23rd we repassed Haddonfield and continued our march to the ferry opposite Philadelphia where we arrived about 11 in the morning, so that, between 4 o'clock in the morning of the 22nd and 11 o'clock in the morning of the 23rd, we had marched about 42 miles, and been well thrashed into the bargain, so much for storming with———. I crossed the river and went home most heartily tired and very low spirited, for the rebels not only gained the advantage on shore, but they have had the satisfaction of seeing the *Augusta*, a 64 gun ship, and the *Merlin*<sup>1</sup> sloop blown up to-day. This fatal accident I was told was owing to their running aground or upon the *chevaux-de-frise* in attempting to pass them, the galleys keeping a constant fire upon them the whole time. I have not heard what number of men were killed or wounded in the storm, or what number the men-of-war lost.

*October 24th.*—A great many fascines are ordered to be made immediately and taken down to Province Island. I am informed to-day that the Hessians had about 400 killed and wounded, and that Colonel Donop is not dead but very badly wounded and prisoner. A great loss for he is a brave and good officer. A great many Hessian officers suffered in the attack.

*October 25th.*—I rode down this morning to Province Island. The galleys had been firing a few shot at our ships. I observed the rebels repairing the blockhouse that was blown up by our howitzers, and also at work at the battery at the lowermost point. We have now a 13 inch mortar on the island which is intended to throw pound shot into the fort.

It is very currently reported that General Burgoyne has met with a total defeat, that he himself is wounded and a prisoner, and that 5,000

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<sup>1</sup> These ships with others passed through the opening in the lower *Chevaux-de-frise* and moved up to support the attack on Red Bank. The *Augusta* and *Merlin* ran aground and when trying to get them off the former caught fire and the flames could not be extinguished, the latter stuck fast and had to be destroyed. Such were the unfortunate consequences of the attack on Red Bank.

of his army laid down their arms. Should this be true, I think we to the north are in a ticklish situation, and our prospect here is not the most pleasing. Our army is in want of provisions. We have no possessions but three or four miles round Philadelphia which is drained of everything. The rebels have cut off our communication to Chester by placing themselves in its neighbourhood. We now get our provisions with great risk, as the boats in their way from the shipping have to pass the fort on Mud Island and their vessels, and the work can only be done at night. The successes the rebels have met with will give them good spirits and I make no doubt will be the cause of a great many joining their army. If the river is not made passable the consequences may be bad ; something must be done and that soon, for the longer we delay the stronger they will be. Lord Cornwallis and General Grant were over at the island to-day. I hope with intention to plan something for our good. The army will either be obliged to leave this place, or starve if our ships do not soon get up. Major Vataass and Captain Blackmore have been tried by a general court-martial for their behaviour on the 11th instant on Province Island. The Major commanded the whole, the Captain commanded on the battery and scandalously suffered 60 or 70 rebel militia to take 50 English soldiers and two officers belonging to the 10th regiment and grenadiers. It seems he would not suffer his men to fire, and absolutely hoisted a white handkerchief as a signal of submission. The decision of the court is not yet known. This is one of the most disgraceful events that has attended us. Donald Maclean, a matross in the artillery, who was that day in the battery, has received the thanks of General Howe in publick orders, and ten guineas for his behaviour and conduct. Maclean repeatedly pulled down the captain's white handkerchief, and the captain at length exclaimed, " Will nobody, will no grenadier, blow that artilleryman's brains out ?" The Major and Captain were permitted to sell out.

*October 27th (Monday).* This afternoon about 3 o'clock I went down to Province Island and relieved Captain Scott.<sup>1</sup> It rained when I went and continued without intermission till Wednesday following and was exceedingly cold. The island is entirely under water and so deep in many places that the relief could not pass, consequently many were obliged to remain in this dreadful situation for 48 hours, without any cover, without any fire, and above their knees in water on the platform. This is at present the situation of Province Island, and it is expected that the trifling batteries on this island (notwithstanding all the improvements) are to silence a much superior fire better situated on Mud Island.

*October 29th.*—This afternoon with great difficulty and no small danger of being drowned, I waded from the island to the town. It is said a battery of some 24 pounders is going to be made on the island, and also a floating battery or two and nothing will be attempted till

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<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 274. — Captain A J. Scott died in Newfoundland, September 1779.

these are ready; that, then a general attack will take place, both from our shipping and from land. This afternoon Major Cuyler, aide-de-camp to General Howe, embarked from the lowermost end of Province Island with the mail and despatches for England. Sent letters to Mrs. Downman, also £50 which she is to receive of Mrs. Standish.

*October 30th.*—Everything remains quiet about the town. Colonel Donop, who was wounded at the attack on Red Bank, is dead, much regretted. The Hessians at that attack did not lose any more than 180 men killed, wounded and missing. It would have been more to their honour if their loss had been greater. It is now past a doubt about General Burgoyne; he has suffered himself to be enclosed on all sides by the rebel army, and for want of provisions has been obliged to surrender his whole army prisoners of war, to be sent to England and not to serve during the present rebellion. Forty-nine pieces of brass cannon with all their ammunition waggons, etc., are become an easy prey to the rebels, besides a great number of small arms. This is such a capital stroke against us that it is doubtful whether we ever subdue them. This added to our failures here will give them the greatest spirits and push them on (in all probability) to make an attempt on New York, or unite their armies and endeavour to retake Philadelphia. We are informed by an officer who has brought the horrid news that Captain T. Jones<sup>1</sup> and Lieutenant Clieland,<sup>2</sup> of the artillery, are killed, and Blomefield<sup>3</sup> wounded. General Clinton has been very successful up the North River; he has taken all the forts and strong places in the highlands, and opened a passage to New York.

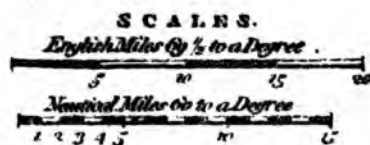
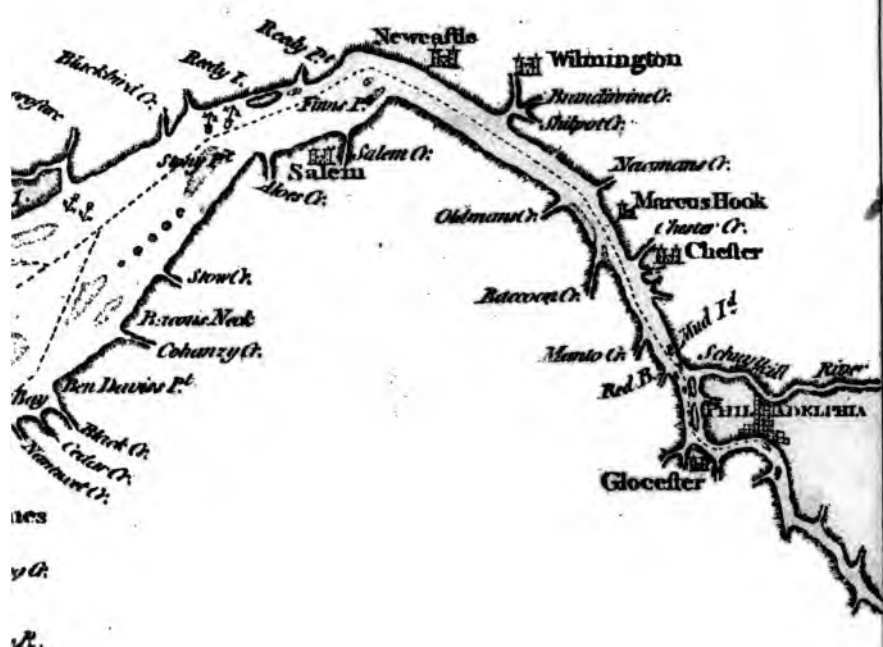
The disaster at Saratoga having so momentous an effect on the narrative before us, it is opportune to mention here some of the causes which led to it.

The plan of this expedition was wisely designed, but it was a mistake to entrust its execution to General Burgoyne, who though a brave and a skilful officer was unacquainted with the continent of America, and had no experience of the kind of warfare peculiar to the country. Had the command been conferred on General Sir Guy Carleton, who so successfully defeated the rebel invasion of Canada in 1775, and who thoroughly understood the kind of troops he would meet, and the peculiarities and difficulties of the country in which he would operate, the campaign might probably have had a different result. The composition of the army was carefully and well arranged, but it was an error to send so large a train of Artillery (upwards of 50 guns) to move about in a wild and trackless region, though commanded by so energetic and able an officer as Major-General Phillips

<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 225.—Captain T. Jones was killed in the hard-fought action at Still Water, September 19th, his intrepidity was highly distinguished on the occasion.

<sup>2</sup> Kane's List, No. 460.—Lieutenant Clieland was killed in the action at Skencsborough, July 8th.

<sup>3</sup> Kane's List, No. 334.—Captain Blomefield was Brigade Major to Major-General Phillips, commanding the R.A. with Burgoyne's force. He afterwards commanded the R.A. in the expedition to Copenhagen in 1807, and was made a Baronet.



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of Minden renown. The guns, it is true, were used with signal success and admirably and gallantly served on various occasions, yet in the end the train was an encumbrance, hampered the movements of the army at the most critical moment of its career, and was one of the causes which prevented its making good the retreat to Fort Edward. General Burgoyne has been too severely condemned for this misfortune, and the view held by his adversaries is no doubt a more just one than that of his own countrymen. The American historian Lee, one of the best and most impartial, and who commanded a partizan corps during the war, thus writes of Burgoyne:—"Where is the General who ever more prodigally risked his life in his country's cause than the unfortunate Burgoyne? Where the army which more bravely executed its leader's will, than did that which he conducted? What danger was avoided? What efforts unessayed? What privations not submitted to? What difficulties not encountered? But all terminated in disaster; and the army from whose prowess so much was expected, yielded to its equal in courage, to its superior in numbers." . . . General Burgoyne's force which had left St. Johns on the river Sorel, numbering 7,200 men exclusive of artillery, amounted to about ~~8,700~~<sup>3,500</sup> men when it surrendered on October 17th, 1777, to the 13,000 under the command of General Gates.

Sir William Howe cannot be held clear of all responsibility for this misfortune. After his failure to draw Washington to a general action from his position at Morris Hill and his return to New York in June, he embarked a great part of his army during the hottest part of the year, kept it in idleness for three weeks on board the transports, and then sailed, when he was sure to meet contrary winds, around the Capes of Virginia for Chesapeake Bay. If instead of making this expedition against Philadelphia, he had operated up the Hudson River towards Albany and stretched out a hand towards General Burgoyne, it is unlikely the Americans could have collected sufficient force to have overpowered his army.

Some reference to the important results which the surrender at Saratoga produced on the history of the American War will render more intelligible the subsequent narrative.

The early and rapid successes of the Canadian expedition under General Burgoyne at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, with the destruction of the American flotilla on the lakes, had raised most sanguine expectations in England respecting the results to be attained from its favourable issue; it was therefore with proportionate disappointment and despondency that intelligence of the total loss of this army was received. In this state of popular feeling the ministry decided to adopt every possible means to put an end to the war, by repealing the tax on tea, and appointing Commissioners with the fullest powers to treat with the Colonists for the removal of all grounds of complaint, and for opening intercourse with the mother country. To frustrate these overtures, the court of France, which from the beginning of the rebellion had secretly encouraged the rebels, and clandestinely supplied them with money, arms, and ammunition, now threw

off the mask, and in February, 1778, entered into a treaty of commerce and a defensive alliance with the thirteen colonies of America, the result being the rupture of diplomatic relations between England and France in March, and the out-break of hostilities without declaration of war in June. Such were the political consequences which attended the capture of Burgoyne's army.

At the seat of war the effects were not less important. The capture of a whole army of their adversaries had a great effect on the *moral* of the American troops. Hitherto the superiority of the British troops in everything, and their almost universal success in the field had caused the Americans even when on equal terms to meet them with reluctance, but now the latter took heart, and animated with fresh ardour and increased confidence in themselves renewed the conflict with vigour, while at the same time the Congress was further stimulated to use its utmost exertions to recruit its armies and supply everything necessary for their efficiency.

### CHAPTER III.

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*The attack and capture of Mud Island. The rebels abandon Red Bank Various expeditions. La Fayette's affair at Barren Hill. The Mischianza. Captain Downman leaves the army through illness and goes to New York.*

*October 31st, 1777.*—We are now making two floating batteries up the Schuylkill intending to act against the fort. This should have been done a month ago, but as in everything else we act like snails. We have no spunk; neither life nor spirits appears in anything we do. By our delays and trifling attempts we point out to the rebels where their works are deficient and give them time to complete them.

*November 2nd, 1777.*—Things are pretty quiet except a little popping at the ferry on the Schuylkill between our advanced troops and some rebels on the other side. Six 24-prs. are come to Province Island from the *Eagle* man-of-war to make a battery against the fort which will be set about directly. A few cannon shot were fired by our ships at the rebel galleys this evening.

*November 3rd.*—I rode down to Province Island; things seem to be preparing for a little fun. Our ships are nearer the *chevaux-de-frise* than usual. Two floating batteries for 32-prs. are in forwardness, and fascines and planks are ready for the batteries. The rebel shipping moved a little lower down towards Red Bank to-day. Lord Howe intends fitting out two or three vessels with large guns to act with the others now making ready. Less than a week will determine who is to be master of the river Delaware.



*November 4th.*—I went down this morning to the 12-pr. battery on this side the Schuylkill, and observed the rebel shipping were in reach. I fire four shot, one of which went into the provision ship, and the others went so near them that they immediately quitted their station and went more over to the Jersey shore and higher up towards Gloucester Point.

*November 5th.*—I went this day at 1 o'clock to relieve Captain Scott on Province Island. I found the six 24-prs. drawn up to Blakney house. As soon as it was dark, so that we could work with safety, we began to repair the road down to the battery for the guns. Several rounds of round and grape shot were fired at us from the fort without doing any damage. This afternoon about 5 o'clock all the rebel galleys drew up in form, and went down and began a very heavy fire at our two uppermost men-of-war. They continued near an hour firing, but at such a distance that they did little or no execution. Two or three of the galleys felt more bold than the rest and ventured pretty near the men-of-war that had not yet returned one single shot, but when he saw them at a tolerable distance John Bull began to speak to them in so rough a tone that they tacked about and made the best of their way back after expending a great quantity of ammunition. The attack was very beautiful, the evening was fine and a dead calm, the galleys rowed down in two divisions, and though the smoke had a great effect their fire was incessant. The rebels opened a two-gun battery on the Jersey shore to-day and fired several shots at our men-of-war, but John Bull did not care a fig for them and lay immovable as a rock. The day is not far off that we shall repay them with very great interest for all their incivilities. General Howe visited all the batteries on Province Island to-day, and has given directions to repair those that want it, and to push on the 24-pr. battery with all haste. Its situation is on the right of the left hand howitzer battery and nearly opposite to the centre of the fort on Mud Island. I attempted to get down the 24-prs. to the battery, but the night turned out so bad, dark and rainy, that, after trying from 6 in the evening till 2 in the morning, I was obliged to desist.

*November 6th.*—I was relieved this afternoon by Captain Adye.<sup>1</sup>

*November 7th.*—This day Captains Traill, Standish, Stewart, and Huddleston with three subs and 160 men were ordered down to Province Island, there to remain till further orders. They are to get the 24-prs. on the battery and see everything in readiness and order for the day of opening.

*November 8th.*—This morning I went down to the island. The 24-prs. not yet ready. The rebels seem very busy in their fort.

*November 9th.*—Two 32-prs. were got to the battery near the Pest House. The 12-prs. were drawn off. These guns began a fire on the fort on Mud Island, and by their situation very much damaged it and annoyed the rebels. I got down from town an 18-pr. and placed it

<sup>1</sup> Kane's List No 308. Captain S. P. Adye, Brigade-Major to Colonel Pattison, R.A. He afterwards was appointed Judge Advocate General to the Army.

near the 12pr. battery on this side the Schuylkill to disturb the rebel shipping that lie at anchor off that point.

*November 10th.*—This morning the 24-pr. battery and all the other batteries on Province Island opened upon the fort and kept it up the whole day. The rebel fire damaged our works and killed two men. Before evening their barracks, blockhouses, and other work appeared in a tattered condition, and one of their batteries was silenced. Two brigs and two sloops with provisions from our fleet passed the fort in the night and got up the Schuylkill without any loss, though the fort fired both cannon and small arms at them.

*November 11th.*—As soon as daylight appeared our batteries began again, and in a short time silenced one of the rebel batteries. A few men were wounded to-day. By my application a battery was made this evening for a gun on the wharf about half way between the Pest House and our batteries. It was made and a medium 12-pr. got on by the morning. The gun by situation flanks the rebel works, and of course must much annoy them. It also commands a wharf opposite to it on Mud Island and prevents the enemy from coming down to fire on our boats that pass and repass every night with provisions and ammunition.

*November 12th.*—The firing from our batteries in a small degree kept up during the night and pushed on with vigour when day appears. Our men-of-war are approaching nearer the *chevaux-de-frise*. The *Vigilant* is to come up as soon as the tide will admit her. She is not to come over or through any part of *chevaux-de-frise*, but up a creek between Province Island and another small isle. Her station is to be on the angle of the rebel grand battery and on the right of our batteries. A sloop, likewise, with three 18-prs. is to follow the *Vigilant*, and after she is moored the sloop is to anchor just ahead of her. The men-of-war are to approach as near the *chevaux-de-frise* as possible and to keep up a fire on the fort and prevent their galleys from falling on the *Vigilant*. The floating battery with two 32-prs. is to be stationed on the left of our batteries, and a detachment of the guards is to be in readiness to storm.

*November 13th.*—The wind blows exceeding hardly; the *Vigilant* cannot come up, nor the floating battery get down. Our batteries keep up a constant fire with cannon and mortars. The fort appears a perfect wreck; they return our fire but very faintly. The wind abated in the night. The floating battery went down and took her station.

*November 14th.*—This morning at daybreak the rebels discovered the floating battery and directed all the guns they could against it and in a very little time obliged the officer and men to quit her. The shot went through and through but fortunately they lost but one man. It was now proposed to take the guns out of her and put them on the wharf where I had made a battery. As soon as night came on, boats went down and towed her alongside the wharf, and one gun was taken out and put on the platform; the other remained in her.

*November 15th.*—In the morning early our batteries renewed their

fire. The 32-prs. at my wharf annoyed their boats and galleys and did much damage to the fort. The morning is fine, the wind moderate and fair. Our men-of-war approach close to the *chevaux-de-frise*; all the rebel galleys go from Red Bank and attack them, but are obliged to retire. The ships, our batteries, all are pouring a constant and well-directed fire into the fort. The blockhouses are entirely demolished. Several explosions in the fort. They seem to be in the greatest distress and confusion. They have made signals for assistance. A number of boats go to them through our fire. About 12 o'clock the *Vigilant* appeared, instantly brought to in her station, and began to fire on the fort. The sloop drew up in her place and kept a constant fire. It was a glorious sight. On one side of the fort was to be seen a number of galleys, floating batteries and ships keeping a constant fire on our ships; on the other side, all our batteries, the *Vigilant* and sloop pouring a tremendous fire on the fort, and from the men-of-war a no less vigorous fire was directed into the fort and at their galleys. At length, after firing on both sides without intermission the whole afternoon, the galleys, floating batteries and xebecs all moved away. The fort seemed to be totally in pieces; necessary orders were given to storm in the morning. Before dark six or seven of the rebel galleys rowed up towards the fort as if to attack our ships again, but we soon perceived that they had some other intention. They collected at the wharf on the other side Mud Island, and we concluded that they were either landing more troops or taking off those that were in the fort. They were in this situation about an hour, small boats also passing and repassing between the fort and Red Bank. Our cannon here did much execution in both galleys and boats for they were quite exposed. The fort at this time was totally silenced. The night brought on a cessation of firing, except now and then a few shot and shell from our battery. About 12 o'clock at night we were all surprised to see the fort in flames, and to all appearances every part of it seemed to be on fire. We now concluded the rebels had quitted it at the time the galleys were lying at the wharf, leaving only a small party to destroy it. It burnt very fiercely all night.

*November 16th.*—At break of day we discovered the rebel colours still flying and the fort almost totally destroyed but no appearance of any person. In a little time the *Vigilant* sent her boat well manned ashore; one of the jacks mounted the flagstaff, tore down the rebel and hoisted in their stead English colours. I got a boat and went over. One man was found upon the island who informed us that the rebels had suffered very much, losing about 50 men killed and between 70 and 80 wounded. The fort is strong and had it been stormed a very considerable loss would have been the consequence. Nothing that could add to its strength was left undone. The island is nothing but a marsh enclosed with a bank. They have cut ditches, they have made *trous de loup* and stuck a frise in every part outside the stockades, which are very high and put close together, loop holes being cut through these pickets from which they could pick off your men and you could not possibly hurt them. The fire had not consumed the

whole buildings; two ranges of barracks was all that suffered from fire, but our shot had completely demolished every part of it. The blockhouses were knocked entirely to pieces, a great number of their guns and carriages were rendered useless by the shot they have received, in short it is in such a battered situation that it is past describing. In almost every place you see blood and brains dashed about, and hardly a spot in the whole place that has not a shot. The only cover the rebels had was outside the fort under a stone wall. Here it was I saw some of the guards (who had gone over under the command of Sir George Osborne) digging up or pulling out of the ditches the poor wretches that had been killed, most dismally torn and mangled by cannon shot, and stripping them of their shoes or whatever they had on them, and then dashing them into the holes again with as little concern or feeling as a butcher shows in killing or cutting up an ox. Their determination to quit the island has been precipitate for they left some of their guns loaded and unspiked, and a quantity of powder and ball and other stores. Twenty-eight cannon from 32prs. to 40prs. and ten other guns sunk in a boat near the wharf.

A battery for four 24-prs. began this morning intended to keep off the galleys from our ships while they are getting up the *chevaux-de-frise*. In the evening I went to town after being eight days upon Province Island, a volunteer, and going through a very great fatigue night and day. All that time I had not my clothes off, nor got more than an hour or two's sleep at a time. General Howe returned his thanks to the artillery on this occasion.

*November 17th.*—A report prevails that the reinforcement of 3,000 men, which arrived a little time ago in the river, are ordered to land on the Jersey shore and to march towards Red Bank, and that another strong detachment from here will land also and proceed to the same place. The junction of the parties will be the decisive stroke against that place, for the very idea of being surrounded is what they cannot bear. General Washington and his army are in or near Germantown, and their light horse and our advance pickets are daily skirmishing.

*November 18th.*—I went on command to Mud Island. I got two 18-prs. mounted on our new battery. Two 32-prs. are to be put on this battery also. The rebel vessels, except the galleys, are moved from Red Bank and gone near to Gloucester Point. The galleys this afternoon were in motion; we expected them down to the fort. The reinforcements from New York are landed on the Jersey's, and have been joined by a large detachment from our army; their intention is to invest Red Bank; Lord Cornwallis commands.

*November 19th.*—Early this morning I observed the galleys in motion and prepared everything to receive them, but instead of paying us a visit they went and joined the fleet at Gloucester Point; at the same time the rebel forces made a movement at Red Bank, and from everything we could discover such as ammunition waggons on the march, people carrying bundles, and boats being filled with barrels, we conclude they were evacuating the fort and works at Red Bank, which if true, our fleet may be before the town in a little time, as we cannot

meet with any interruption in removing the impediments in the river. I was relieved this afternoon and went to town. A report prevails that the rebels have quitted Red Bank and intend destroying a number of their vessels. Wrote to Colonel James by Captain Layard.

*November 20th.*—This morning about 1 o'clock we were roused out of our beds. Some deserters from the rebel galleys had informed the General that all the galleys intended to be up at town about daylight to set fire to our frigate, the *Delaware*, and to cannonade the town. In a little time we were prepared to receive them, having manned and got our guns ready, but they did not come.

*November 21st.*—The rebels have abandoned Red Bank, have left 18 pieces of cannon, and blown up the magazine that contained a great quantity of powder. A vast quantity of shot and other stores were found in their works. Lord Cornwallis's army took possession and we are now destroying it. Mud Island is also to be destroyed and the cannon and stores brought to town. This evening the rebels set fire to their whole fleet, except the galleys which, under cover of a dark night stole past the town and went up the river. A brig and sloop attempted to pass, but they were prevented by our batteries and the frigate and ran aground just opposite the town, they were set fire to, and after burning a considerable time blew up. The loss of this fleet of 30 or 40 vessels, some of them considerable size, must be a heavy blow to them, as almost all of them had a great quantity of powder, guns, and stores on board. The explosion of some of these was so immense that the whole town was shook as with an earthquake. By the taking of Red Bank and Mud Island and the extinction of the fleet, the river is now entirely free, and our vessels are coming up to town every tide. The *chevaux-de-frise* will be instantly removed and in a few days our men-of-war will be before the town. General Pattison and John Williamson's<sup>1</sup> company are landed and are at Red Bank with the army. Our redoubts and lines round the city are finished and are very strong, so much so, that we need not be under the least apprehension of Mr. Washington's attack, though he threatens hard and some of his ragamuffins are firing at our pickets every foggy morning, but are always driven back with loss.

*November 22nd.*—The artillery are ordered to be in the redoubts every morning before daylight. Three hundred rebels made their appearance in front of our lines and attacked the outguards, but were driven off with the loss of seven killed and some wounded ; not a man of ours was hurt.

*November 23rd.*—Our ships are coming up very fast and things remain pretty quiet ; a little skirmishing indeed every morning between our pickets and the rebels.

*November 24th.*—Lord Cornwallis's army have destroyed the works at Red Bank, and are expected in town to-morrow or the next day. It is rumoured an attack will take place on Mr. Washington in a few days. Ammunition for all the field artillery is ordered to be put into

waggons, and the works round the town are being completed with cannon and ammunition.

*November 25th.*—General Pattison of the artillery arrived in town this morning. Williamson and his company are embarked in the *Lord Howe* and expected in town. They arrived the 26th. Everything remains pretty quiet about the town.

*December 4th, 1777.*—The army had orders to march this morning at 6 o'clock in two divisions, but during the night countermanded; everything has been pretty quiet.

*December 5th.*—The army marched this night towards Chestnut Hill. A severe illness prevented my being out with the army.

*December 8th.*—Nothing yet transpired about our army. It seems by report of deserters that General Gates has joined Washington with 5,000 men, and the whole are strongly posted at White Marsh, a little distance from Chestnut Hill. General Cleaveland and Major Farrington went this day for New York. I wrote to Colouel James by the latter. This morning about 8 o'clock the whole army returned without doing anything, except losing a few men, about 50. They found Washington in great force and strongly entrenched, and an *abattis* before him, upon a hill above White Marsh. Our general saw that they could not be forced without a great loss of men and without any material advantage attending it. A successful blow at this juncture against the rebels would be attended with perhaps no other circumstance than driving them a little further back, which would answer very little purpose, as all the forage both for man and beast is nearly gone for many miles round this place. He therefore very prudently retired after making several movements to induce the enemy to leave their stronghold, but they were too wise.

*December 10th.*—I made application for leave to go to New York for the recovery of my health, but General Howe would not grant it,—unkind, when I have got my illness by a fatiguing duty and cannot possibly do any this winter, and yet could not obtain an absence of only three months. He told General Pattison he was sorry I was ill and hoped I should be able to remain here, that I was a good officer, and that he had good reason to be satisfied with my behaviour. A little flum not amiss now and then. A foraging party of about 7,000 men under Lord Cornwallis went over the Schuylkill, they met with little opposition from the militia under General Potter and a part of Washington's army whom they drove across the river over their own bridge, and who destroyed it that they might not be pursued by us. As it was we killed a good number of them, took some prisoners and returned to town the next day without any loss and with 300 waggons full of forage. Lord Cornwallis and several officers are going to England. The 71st and the Mirbach regiments are going to New York. Lord Cornwallis went home in the *Brilliant* about the 16th of December.

*December 22nd.*—About 10,000 of the army under the command of General Howe marched by the left over the pontoon bridge at Gray's ferry, They extended themselves from two miles beyond Derby to

the side of the Schuylkill and remained there without molestation, except a little popping, till the 28th December, when the whole returned and took up their usual quarters. They have collected a good deal of forage, which it seems was the only intent of the Commander-in-chief, though from his being with them it was imagined something else was at first thought of. Ten or twelve light dragoon were surrounded by the rebels through venturing too far into the country and were taken, and a few others were also captured in marauding. The snow and cold weather begins to set in pretty severely.

*December 24th.*—This evening about 6 o'clock the rebels brought down in the front of the 2nd redoubt two light field guns and fired a few shots at the town; our redoubts returned their fire and drove them off with great precipitation, for the rangers advanced almost immediately, but the scoundrels fled. Our lines were manned throughout and remained in readiness the whole night, but everything was quiet. What they could mean or intend by this trifling mischievous little spurt I cannot find out, unless one of their generals had laid a bet that he would fire a shot into the town in spite of our redoubts. The nights were very dark, the road hard and good, so that it was no very difficult matter for them to bring a light 3-pr., fire three or four shots and then gallop away again. It could answer no purpose except to knock on the head a woman or child, for the shots went far over the redoubts and nearly into the middle of the town. If they had meant an attack during the night or at daybreak they never would have been so imprudent as to fire a gun or give the least alarm till they were ready, as they must know that such proceedings must put us on our guard. I visited the different redoubts at 10 o'clock, and as everything appeared quiet, I went to my quarters fearful of getting a relapse of my disorder, as the night was very cold. Our army are still out foraging. We do not hear they have met with the smallest interruption. A sentinel of the 40th regiment deserted from his post last night. He was stationed between the 5th and 6th redoubts; the countersign was ordered to be changed by the advanced pickets in consequence. We are informed by some country people who are coming in daily, that the ridiculous spurt of the rebels was quite a drunken frolic; it was proposed over night when drinking by some of their officers, but not without first being informed for a certainty that General Howe and his army were out foraging.

*December 28th.*—The frost is set in severely cold. The army returned from foraging. Many are surprised that it was merely employed in the work. The Commander-in-chief being with them has given room for these conjectures and remarks. Several of our small vessels, in coming up the Delaware or going down, have been driven ashore by the ice, and some have been taken with clothing and officer's baggage on board. The rebels ought to be very civil to us, for I am sure we are very tender and considerate with respect to them. We have dilly dallied and shilly shallied till the river is frozen up, by which means several of our ships have been caught, stripped of their cargo, and then set on fire.

*January 4th, 1778.*—It is only now that we have thought or at least done anything about laying in wood. A good large detachment is every day employed in cutting wood and bringing it to town. They bring it from the other side the floating bridge that is made over the Shuylkill between the 10th and 11th redoubts. Skirmishing every day between our light horse and the rebel horse. They lost a major and several officers killed, and 13 taken prisoners yesterday.

*February 2nd.*—Many deserters came in to-day. A colonel belonging to their army was seized by some of the cavalry people and brought a prisoner to town. The river is now entirely free from ice, and the weather is very fine.

*February 6th.*—Thirteen sergeants and a corporal of the rebel artillery came in to-day. An officer and many others deserted to us yesterday.

*February 23rd.*—The two regiments of dragoons made a long march into the country, and returned with 130 head of cattle and a number of prisoners.

*February 24th.*—In the night about 11 o'clock the two battalions of light bobs embarked in flat boats, went down the river, and landed at Billing's Port on the Jersey shore. It seems the General has received information of the rebel General Wane with a body of men under him being there or near collecting cattle etc. for the rebel army.

*February 25th.*—This night about 12 o'clock the 42nd regiment embarked in boats and crossed over to the Jerseys opposite the town. We imagine the intention is to make a junction with the light infantry and most likely by this manœuvre they may surround Mr. Wane and his cattle. It is reported with great confidence that the people of the Jerseys, finding themselves so torn to pieces with exorbitant fines and penalties laid on them by congress, have sent to assure General Howe that if he will send them some troops to support them, they will unanimously take up arms against their lawless masters. Should this be true it will be one of the most favourable circumstances that can attend us.

*February 27th.*—The light infantry returned without doing anything.

*March 1st, 1778.*—The 42nd returned after destroying 12 or 14 of the rebel vessels, and brought in some prisoners without any loss. General Wane made an attack on them in the evening, but they drove him off in an instant and pursued him a great way, but he ran too fast. The snow set in very severely and continued till the 6th with hard frost.

*March 6th.*—This morning the 1st light infantry and a party of dragoons marched from town beyond Chesnut Hill, surprised a party of the rebels and returned in the morning without loss, bringing 20 or 30 prisoners.

*March 12th.*—A number of ships and small craft went down the river to-day with the 17th, 27th, and 46th regiments, supposed for forage. Ten or twelve ships from Rhode Island came up town to-day with forage, very opportunely. The rebels have got at Wilmington Creek several galleys and other vessels with which they annoy ours



very much. They have just now taken two of the Rhode Island fleet and destroyed them; they have also taken the *Alert* belonging to Captain Montresor, with several officers' wives and much baggage and valuable things on board. It is no honour to our navy or army that this nest of rebel vessels is suffered to do so much mischief. An attack both by land and water would be the means of effectually taking and destroying the whole.

*March 14th.*—A large ship from Ireland with recruits came up to-day. The weather for this three days past has been remarkably fine and so warm that fires are laid aside.

*March 17th.*—At night a party of light bobs and dragoons went out about eight miles, surprised a rebel guard, killed four or five and brought in near 20 prisoners.

*March 20th.*—A party of jägers and Philadelphia light horse went after a party of the rebels who had approached the Schuylkill to set fire to some barns. They came up with them, charged them, killed a captain and several officers and brought in 13 prisoners without losing a man. I was told to-day that not less than 1,600 rebels have deserted to us since we have been here, mostly Irish. We are informed that Mr. Washington is making a bridge of boats over the Susquehanna, near a mile in length. By this one would suppose his intention is to leave this part of the country and to return to Virginia, where we cannot easily get unless we again embark and proceed by the Chesapeake, and then perhaps he would tack about and return hither.

*March 25th.*—This day Major Williams<sup>1</sup> of Artillery, who was taken prisoner with General Burgoyne's army, came to town from New York through the Jerseys, accompanied by General Lee the rebel. It is imagined a general exchange of prisoners will soon take place.

*March 27th.*—The January packet arrived to-day from New York. I received a letter from Mrs. D., Miss Day, and Colonel James.

*March 28th.*—A number of vessels arrived to-day from England with recruits and provisions, last from New York. The lion is roused at last, all England is up in arms, every county is raising troops and the whole nation seems determined to prosecute the war and to crush this monster rebellion. It is a glorious ardour, every honest British heart bounds with joy to find his country so unanimous. When England is determined and unanimous who can beat her?

The three regiments that went down the river the other day returned the 28th, after collecting a great quantity of forage without any loss and disposing of a few of the rebels, i.e. bayoneting them and bringing some prisoners.

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<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 131. Major Griffith Williams sailed with his company in the ordnance store ship *Charming Nancy* for the St. Laurence in March, 1776. There was published in "Notes and Queries" in November, 1897, the regulations drawn up by the officers on board for preserving harmony and decorum among themselves during the voyage. These regulations are both curious and amusing, but too long to quote here. The record is made by George Williams, a volunteer and nephew to Griffith Williams. He served with his uncle throughout Burgoyne's campaign and carried the flag of truce to General Gates on October 13th, 1777. After his return home he entered Parliament and was member for Ashton-under-Lyne, and J.P. for Lancashire. Died 1805.

*April 5th, 1778.*—Information being received that a body of rebels, consisting of about 300 with two field pieces, were collected at Haddonfield on the Jerseys, a party of light bobs went down the river in boats and landed at Gloucester Point, from whence they marched to the above town, but the rebels being apprised of their danger very prudently withdrew, except six who fired out of a house, were stormed in their castle and bayoneted, and a rebel light horseman met with the same fate. On the return of our party they heard that about 40 of the rebels were lodged near Cooper's ferry, on which they directed their march to that spot in such a manner as to surround them, and after a short skirmish in which several were wounded, made 26 of them prisoners, amongst whom were a major and two subs. Our troops received not the least injury in their excursion. Our light troops are almost every night making excursions into the country, sometimes 20 miles and upwards, and as often return with 30, 40, or 50 prisoners, besides killing and wounding many without the least loss to themselves.

*April 10th.*—The February packet arrived from England, some vessels from Rhode Island and from New York.

*April 14th.*—The *Aldborough*, a new frigate, Captain Keppel, arrived here in 28 days from England. She brought dispatches for General Howe. Poor old England! and must you knock under to rebels at last?

*April 22nd.*—The light bobs made a dash near Chesnut Hill in the night, surprised a captain's guard of 80 rebels, killed some and brought in the lieutenant and 53 men without any loss. Lord Howe arrived from Rhode Island on April 16th. Two large redoubts are begun in front of the others and are being carried on with great expedition; they are situated upon the rising ground at the distance of 300 yards. This appears, I think, as if we intended to act upon the defensive.

*April 30th.*—This night a small party of the light bobs, dragoons, Queen's rangers, and a few Pennsylvania dragoons left this at about 11 o'clock and proceeded up the Old York road. About a mile beyond the Billet they fell in with Lacy's brigade of rebel militia consisting of about 500 men, and immediately attacked them. Lacy at first made some appearance of opposition, but in a few seconds his men were thrown into confusion, obliged to retreat with precipitation, and were pursued about four miles. They left between 80 and 100 dead on the spot, and yesterday between 50 and 60 prisoners, besides waggoners and 10 of their waggons laden with baggage, flour, salt, whiskey, etc., were brought in by our troops on their return. A good many of the rebels were wounded, but we cannot ascertain the number. The waggons were burnt with all their huts and what baggage could not be brought off. The loss on our side was seven men wounded and two horses killed.

*May 2nd, 1778.*—Two regiments are gone across the river to the Jerseys with some light cannon opposite the town. Redoubts are likewise going to be erected there.

*May 4th.*—Sir Henry Clinton arrived from New York. He is to

take the command of this army, and General Howe is soon going to England. A number of vessels arrived also, some of them from England with provisions and recruits. We are just informed by dispatches from London that a French war was declared the 17th or 27th of March last. The French have entered into a treaty of amity and commerce with the rebel Americans.

*May 7th.*—This night three of our row galleys, an armed brig, and a schooner went up the river with a detachment of the 2nd light infantry on each side, and set fire to the *Washington* and *Effingham* frigates, a large ship pierced for 24 guns, a privateer sloop, nine ships, and 16 or 18 small vessels, all of which were consumed, also a quantity of naval stores, and some thousands of tent poles, pegs, etc. The house of Mr. Borden at Borden town, Mr. Kirkbright's and the ferry house were by some means set on fire and burnt to the ground. The troops and vessels returned on Sunday without losing a single man.

*May 15th.*—Our battering cannon is ordered on board ship immediately. Captain Farrington's company is ordered to Halifax.

*May 19th.*—This evening intelligence was received that the Marquis La Fayette with a large body of the rebel army had crossed the Schuylkill at the bridge lately built by them and was stealing a march to German town. A detachment of the British army was immediately ordered to meet them or to get between them and their bridge. This would have been effected, but, d—— your butts, but the officer who had the honour to command this detachment of the finest part of our army, after making a further detour than was necessary, made also a halt. Now, sir, you can see why I d——d the butts. General Grant made his *halt* very critically for it happened to be at the very time he ought to have advanced with all his speed. How fortunate is our most gracious sovereign to be blessed with such truly intrepid soldiers, and such consummate generals. D—— the butts, I wish he were drowned in a butt of Yankee cider.

The affair at Barren Hill is here referred to.

General Washington had sent La Fayette with 3,000 men across the Schuylkill to a position at Barren Hill, seven miles from his encampment at Valley Forge. Dispositions were made by General Howe to cut off this force. On the night of May 19th, General Grey with a strong detachment marched from Philadelphia along the western branch of the Schuylkill, and placed himself two or three miles in front of La Fayette's right flank, while the remainder of the British army advanced to Chestnut Hill. Meanwhile General Grant with 5,000 men had moved along the road close to the Delaware, and unperceived gained the rear of La Fayette's position and a point nearer to Mat-

son's Ford, his only line of retreat, than Barren Hill. General Grant, however, instead of at once marching to the Ford hesitated, and after some delay advanced towards Barren Hill. La Fayette having by this time become aware of his danger hastened with all speed towards the Ford. Grant, on reaching the hill, discovered the enemy well on their way to the Ford and marched in pursuit, but it was too late and they escaped. It was a very badly managed affair. Had the advice of the Quarter-Master-General, Sir William Erskine, been taken, La Fayette could not have escaped.

On Monday the 18th a number of gentlemen of the army, possessed of more money than wisdom, gave an entertainment to Lord, and General Howe, General Clinton, etc., and the rebel . . . of this town. The managers gave it the name of Mischianza. It consisted of a variety of matters, and I think might as well have been distinguished by the appellation of shamfontic or anything else. It was given, very *mal apropos*, just after we had heard the rebels to be supported by France and that a war with that nation was inevitable. The following is an account of it from first to last:—

The army, anxious to give Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Howe a most publick and splendid testimony of the high esteem they entertain of him as a general, and of the affection and attachment which his popular conduct had secured to him from all ranks, both of officers and men, prepared a magnificent entertainment to grace his departure. It consisted of a variety of parts and was therefore called Mischianza. The admission tickets were decorated with a sun just verging to the horizon, with the inscription *Luceo discedens, aucto splendore resurgam*. On the lower part of the shield was the sea. At the top the general's crest with the words *Vive! Vale!*, and at bottom and all round different military trophies. The fête began at four o'clock in the afternoon, by a general grand procession on the river, consisting of three divisions—a galley and ten flat boats in each division. In the centre division was the *Hussar* galley with the General, Admiral, General Clinton and the ladies of their party. The flat boats, with bands in each, led the procession. They set out from Knight's wharf (so called for the occasion) at a signal from the *Vigilant*, and proceeded till they arrived at the market place, when the *Fanny*, armed ship, was drawn off into the stream beautifully decorated with a variety of colours, where they laid on their oars while the music played "God save the King," then proceeded to the Old Fort where a landing place was prepared, and as soon as the General landed he was saluted with 19 guns from the *Roebuck* and the same number from the *Vigilant*. The company as they quitted the boats formed themselves into a line of

procession and advanced between two files of grenadiers till they came to a square of 400 yards railed in and prepared for the tournament. In front of the square was Sir Harry Calder's house appearing through two triumphal arches erected one in honour of Lord, the other of General Howe. Two sofas in form of amphitheatres, formed the advanced wing of one of these arches, on these the ladies seated themselves, advancing to them through the centre of the square. On the lowest seats of each were seven virgins dressed in Asiatic habits and wearing the different colours of the knights who chose them for their damsels. Here the tournament commenced, when the elegance and richness of the different dresses of the knights and squires (not one of them worth Sancho's little finger), their horses' trappings and caparisons, the taste displayed in their mottoes and devices, the various evolutions and revolutions and feats of arms they performed, exhibited altogether a spectacle as rare as it surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the beholders. ('Tis very true indeed madam, for they did not expect to see anything so ridiculous). As soon as the tournament ended, the valiant knights and gentle squires, two and two, moved through the first triumphal arch which was decorated with rare ornaments. At the top stood Master Neptune with his trident, (but, poor fellow, he had got his arm broke by the tail of a fish I suppose), in the interior were the attributes of that god, and in a niche on each side stood a sailor with his sword drawn (a marline spike would have been more ornamental). On two wings were plumes of feathers with the inscription on the entablature, *Laus illi debetur, et alme gratia major*. An avenue of 500 yards in length and 40 in breadth, lined with troops and decorated with the colours of the different regiments placed at proper distances, led to the second arch, between whose columns the knights and their attendants ranged themselves, and the company preceded by all the music of the army, advanced in procession, and were led into the house through the second arch erected in honour of the General. This arch was of the Tuscan order. On the pediment was Miss Fame with her trumpet, in the interior a column of feathers and military trophies, and on the entablature *I, bone quo virtus tua te vocet, I, pede fausto*. The house within was painted in a light and elegant style with festoons and several emblematical figures, while mirrors, and girandoles, and chandeliers decorated with wreaths of different coloured gauze adorned the walls. The company were entertained with tea and refreshments and then danced till half-past 10 o'clock. The windows being then thrown suddenly open, a grand and beautiful display of fireworks was exhibited. Towards the conclusion, the triumphal arch near the house appeared magnificently illuminated, and Fame blew from her trumpet in letters of light "Thy laurels shall never fade." After the fireworks the company sat down to a supper of 1024 dishes in a magnificent apartment built for the occasion, decorated in the same style and elegance as the rooms in the house. The herald of the Blended Rose in his robes of ceremony announced by sound of trumpet the health of the King, the Queen, and Royal

Family, the Army and Navy and their representative commanders, and the ladies. A salute of music and three cheers graced each of these toasts. After the supper the dancing was renewed, and the whole broke up at 4 in the morning.

The following lines were intended to have been declaimed by the herald after the knights had approached the Pavilion, in which were the General and the ladies. He bore in his hand a laurel wreath with the following inscription, but in delicacy to the General this was suppressed.

Mars conquest plumed, the Cyprian Queen disarms,  
 And victors, vanquished, yield to beauty's charms.  
 (He hangs the Crown on the front of the Pavilion and proceeds).  
 Here then the laurel,—here the palm we yield,  
 And all the trophies of the tilted field;  
 Here, Whites and Blacks<sup>1</sup> with blended homage, pay  
 To each device the honours of the day.  
 Hard were the task, and impious to decide  
 Where both are fairest, which the fairer side  
 Enough for us, if by such sports we strove  
 To grace this feast of military love,  
 And, joining in the wish of every heart,  
 Honoured the friend and leader ere we part.  
 When great in arms our brave forefathers rose,  
 And loosed the British Lion on his foes;  
 When the fall'n Gauls, then perjured too and base,  
 The faithless fathers of a faithless race.  
 First to attack, tho' still the first to yield,  
 Shrunk from their rage on Poitiers laureled field;  
 Oft, while grim war suspended his alarms,  
 The gallant bands with mimic deeds of arms,  
 Thus to some favourite chief the feast decreed,  
 And decked the tilting knight, th' encountering steed.  
 In manly sports that served but to inspire  
 Contempt of death, and feed the martial fire.  
 The lists beheld them celebrate his name.  
 Who led their steps to victory and fame.  
 Tho' ev'ry rank the grateful ardour ran,  
 All feared the chieftain, but all loved the man;  
 And, fired with the soul of this bright day,  
 Paid to a *Salisbury* what to *Howe* we pay.  
 Shame to the envious slave that dares bemoan.  
 Their sons degenerate, or their spirits flown—  
 Let maddening Faction drive this guilty land  
 With her worst foes to form th' unnatural band;  
 In yon brave crowd old British courage glows  
 Unconquered, growing as the danger grows.  
 With hearts as bold as e'er their fathers bore,  
 Their country they'll avenge, her fame restore.  
 Roused to the charge, methinks I hear them cry,  
 Revenge and glory sparkling from each eye,  
 Chained to our arms while *Howe* the battle led,  
 Still round these files her wings shall conquest spread.  
 Loved tho' he goes, the spirit still remains  
 That with him bore us o'er those trembling plains  
 On Hudson's banks the sure presage we read  
 Of other triumphs to our arms decreed;  
 Nor fear but equal honours shall repay  
 Each hardy deed where Clinton points the way.

There is a gap in Captain Downman's diary between May 19th and June 7th, caused apparently through some leaves of his journal book being missing; as it was the time when he was sick and leaving the army for New York, the break in his diary is not of much importance.

<sup>1</sup> The Knights so distinguished.

A few days after the Mischianza, General-Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Howe, who had resigned his command, quitted the army and was succeeded by General Sir Henry Clinton. It must be acknowledged that on the whole Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Howe had been successful in the field, though it is true that his forces were much in excess of those of the Americans, but whether from political or other reasons, these successes were never followed up or improved. At Long Island, in the Jerseys, at Brandywine, at White Marsh, and at Valley Forge fortune placed the enemy in his power, but he failed to seize the advantage. Indeed the only result of his campaign in 1777 was the acquisition of good winter quarters for the army at Philadelphia.

*June 7th, 1778.*—This morning early the *Trident* appeared and saluted the *Eagle*, which was returned, she soon came to; the Commissioners<sup>1</sup> quitted her and got into a small armed sloop and proceeded into town. They were saluted by the *Trident* on leaving her.

*June 8th.*—We left Newcastle and went down to Reedy Island and joined a great number of ships waiting for orders to proceed somewhere.

*June 11th.*—We hear that our army is still in Philadelphia, and that the Commissioners are gone out to treat with the rebels. A fleet of 12 or 13 sail of ships from Cork with provisions came to anchor here to-day.

*June 13th.*—I left the *Lord Howe* and went on board the *Duke William* hospital ship. The latter is under sailing orders for New York with a number of other ships. The former may stay much longer, which is the reason I quit her.

*June 14th.*—Weighed anchor from Bombo Hook with a fair wind, with about 60 sail, and on the 17th, in the afternoon, we anchored at Sandy Hook. On the 18th we got up to New York.

The illness which compelled Captain Downman to go by sea to New York, deprives us of any account from his pen of the subsequent operations in the Jersey's in 1778. There exists however in the R.A. Library at Woolwich, a book indorsed "Brigade Orders, No. 2" which is in reality a diary that details the operations with General Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Howe's army in the American war between June 17th, 1778 and December 24th, 1779. This record gives what happened after Captain Downman left the army until it arrived at New York. The diary is evidently written by an artillery officer, probably the Brigade Major, Captain S. P. Adye, but be that as it may, with such a valuable record available, it seems a pity not to utilize the portion that will complete our knowledge of the campaign. That part has accordingly been extracted and embodied in a separate chapter so as not to be confused with Captain Downman's narrative. It is worthy of remark that the entries

<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners were Lord Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and Mr. Eden, appointed by the King with full powers to treat with the Colonists under the Act of Parliament of March, 1778.

in Captain Downman's diary and in this record on identical dates agree in the most minute particulars, an evidence of the trustworthiness of both.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Account of the evacuation of Philadelphia, the march through the Jerseys, battle of Freehold or Monmouth Courthouse, and arrival of the British Army at New York, as recorded in Brigade Order Book No. 2.*

*June 17th, 1778.*—The chief part of the artillery stores, provisions, and baggage having been previously transported across the Delaware to Cooper's Ferry on the Jersey shore, and put under the protection of Brigadier-General Leslie's corps (consisting of the following regiments which had been detached some time before for the purpose of covering the wood cutters) viz., the 7th, 26th, 46th, 55th and 63rd with Colonels Clifton's and Allen's battalions of provincials, and Captain Hovenden's troop of provincial dragoons. At 4 o'clock this morning Lieutenant-General Knyphausen crossed over and joined General Leslie with the following regiments, viz :—

Queen's rangers, provincials,	
Jägers mounted and dismounted,	
Hessian Grenadiers,	
Two battalions New Jersey Volunteers	} Provincials.
Maryland Volunteers	
Volunteers of Ireland	
Caledonian Volunteers	

At 6 o'clock in the evening the remainder of the troops were put under arms, and marched to the rear of the several redoubts, where they lay upon their arms all night.

*June 18th.*—A little after daybreak the troops were put in motion, and abandoned the redoubts as well as the city of Philadelphia without the least annoyance or molestation from the enemy, marching in three columns to Gloucester Point, where flat boats lay ready for their reception, in which they crossed the Delaware and landed on the Jersey shore, the whole having got over by 9 o'clock. Some few of the enemy's dragoons entered the city immediately after the troops had quitted it, and appeared upon the shore after they were in the boats. About 11 o'clock the troops began their march towards Haddonfield, where they were joined by the corps from Cooper's Ferry, under the command of Lieutenant-General Knyphausen. The whole army, except an advanced corps under Brigadier-General Leslie which had pushed forward to Foster's Town, encamped at Haddonfield.

*June 19th.*—The Commander-in-chief marched at daybreak with the following corps, viz :—



1st and 2nd battalions Light Infantry	Brigade of Guards
16th regiment Light Dragoons	4th brigade of British
1st and 2nd battalions British Grenadiers	3rd brigade of British
Three battalions Hessian Grenadiers	17th regt. Light Dragoons
Two medium 12-prs. and one 5½ inch howitzer.	

At the same time Colonel Prescott was detached with the 28th and 55th regiments of foot, and two light 6-prs. to Billings Port in order to bring off the 15th regiment and the provincial regiment of Vandyke, which had taken post there some time before. These regiments joined him at Manto Creek, and the whole marched to Haddonfield in the evening, having met with no interruption in the march, except from a few stragglers supposed to be militia, who by a scattered and concealed fire wounded the surgeon's mate and a soldier of the 55th, and killed a dragoon's horse. In order to prevent delay, which would have been occasioned by a deep ravine across the high road the troops were to pass, it was judged proper (as the corps left under the command of Lieutenant-General Knyphausen was to wait at Haddonfield for the return of Colonel Prescott) to take advantage of this day's halt to remove the park of artillery and provision train across the ravine, which was accordingly done, one Hessian and two provincial regiments being advanced to cover their front and flanks; Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's quarters still continuing at Haddonfield and the remainder of his division of the army in their former position. The first division of the army, which had moved forward the day before under the immediate command of the Commander-in-chief, and had taken up their ground near Livesham, marched this day, the 20th, to Mount Holly, a remarkably strong and defensible post which it was judged the enemy might have endeavoured to occupy, General Maxwell having been long hovering about this part of the country with 1,500 or 2,000 men and some Jersey militia, but they early retired towards Bordenton and Trenton. The advanced guard of Brigadier-General Leslie's corps, which was in front of the 1st division, fell in with a small party of them, who exchanged a few shots with a party of jägers, by which one jäger was killed on our part, and a captain of the militia on that of the enemy. The army in their march of this day crossed Belly-bridge, Saw Mill branch, and Ancocas Creeks. The 2nd division of the army, under the command of Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, also marched this morning from their right in half divisions wherever the road would admit of it, the country which the army marched through becoming more open. The advanced guard consisted of 200 British, followed by a detachment of the 17th dragoons, the British and Hessian infantry, the park of artillery, provision train and baggage, the rear-guard composed of one British and one Hessian regiment of foot and a party of the 16th regiment of dragoons; the flanks of the artillery, provision train and baggage being covered by the 10th regiment and the provincial corps of Chalmers and Clifton. This division arrived at their new ground near Moore's Town (where Lieutenant-General Knyphausen and the General officers under his command fixed their quarters) about 9 o'clock in the morning, and very soon after their arrival a very heavy

rain fell which continued almost incessantly for 14 or 15 hours, and not only rendered the situation of the troops, who lay in temporary huts, very disagreeable, but also injured the roads, which had hitherto been sandy, but now became clayish; the division under Knyphausen, notwithstanding, marched the next morning (Sunday, the 21st) at 3 o'clock, nearly in the same order of march as the day before, and joined the other division which had halted at Mount Holly, about 9 o'clock in the morning. The whole army being again united at Mount Holly encamped in two lines, the division under Lieutenant-General Knyphausen forming in the rear of that which had taken post there the day before.

*June 22nd.*—The army marched again in two divisions, the 1st under the command of Sir H. Clinton and Lord Cornwallis moving at 3 o'clock, and the 2nd under Lieutenant-General Knyphausen at 6, and following the baggage of the 1st; the face of the country though much better settled and more open than at the beginning of our route, not admitting of the two divisions taking different roads. The army again encamped in two lines near the Black Horse, where the Commander-in-chief had his head-quarters. One of the rebel party who had fired upon the jägers on the 20th instant and was taken prisoner, proving to be a deserter from the 28th regiment, was tried and condemned by a general court martial at Mount Holly, and this day executed and left hanging on a tree near the high road.

*June 23rd.*—From this encampment the army marched in two columns. Brigadier-General Leslie's corps consisting of the 7th, 26th and 63rd regiments of foot, and reinforced by Hovenden's troop of provincial dragoons forming the vanguard of the 1st division, which formed the left column and marched at 4 o'clock. The 2nd division under Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, led by the 2nd battalion of light infantry formed the right, and marched as soon as the 1st division was off the ground; this column he ordered to pay every attention to their right flank. The enemy had all along made attempts to obstruct, or at least retard our march by pulling up the bridges thrown across the small creeks and causeways, and felling timber across the roads, but have never appeared with any troops to protect or defend any of the passes, though many very strong by nature, and which might have been rendered much more so by art, occurred in our route. A party of about 50 men showed themselves at a mill in Wreckels Town Creek, but upon the first appearance of the advanced guard of General Clinton's column, went off without firing a shot, however, they exchanged several upon this column coming up to Crosswick, by which a captain of the Queen's rangers was wounded, and one rebel killed, one wounded, and another taken, but upon our bringing up two 3-prs. belonging to the 1st battalion of light infantry, they again went off, and the 1st division advanced to Crosswick, the advanced corps under Brigadier-General Leslie being pushed towards Bordentown. Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's division lay this night at Wreckels Town. Brigadier-General Leslie's corps was this evening fired upon with cannon from a work the enemy had erected

on Bordenton Creek, which he crossed the next morning, and marched through Bordenton, exchanging some few cannon shots on the enemy endeavouring to molest him by pulling down a draw-bridge in order to prevent his effecting a junction with General Clinton at Crosswick.

*June 24th.*—The 2nd division, under Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, marched at 4 o'clock in the morning, and formed upon the heights above Wall's Mills, whilst a bridge over Crosswick Creek, which had been destroyed by the enemy, was repaired; this was completed about 11 o'clock, and all the column over it by 12, bending their course to Emely's Town, where they arrived about 3 o'clock and lay that night. As soon as General Clinton received advice of General Knyphausen's column having passed the bridge and destroyed it, he moved forward with the 1st division from Crosswick towards Allens-town, thereby covering the left flank of Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's column.

*June 25th.*—The whole army continued their route, Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's division moving off their ground near Emely's Town at 4 o'clock in the morning, General Clinton's column with Brigadier-General Leslie's corps filing off to their right and falling into the rear of Knyphausen's division. The army had now advanced so far into Jersey that there was more reason to expect the enemy in our rear than in front; some alteration was therefore made in the disposition of General Clinton's column, the guards, grenadiers, and light infantry forming the rear of the column instead of the front. The whole halted from 12 to 3 o'clock in order to refresh the men and horses and then proceeded, Lieutenant-General Knyphausen to Thompson's meeting house and General Clinton to the Rising Sun. The roads through which the army marched this day were remarkably bad.

*June 26th.*—The army was again put in motion, Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's division still continuing in front, moved at 4 o'clock in the morning, and the rear division under Clinton and Lord Cornwallis at 6 o'clock. The first division reached Freehold between 9 and 10 o'clock, and encamped with their right extending about a mile and a half beyond Monmouth Court House on the road to Shrewsbury and Middleton, and covered by the skirt of a small wood. The division under General Clinton took up their ground about two miles on the other side of the Court House, with their right towards the Court House and their left to a thick wood and a morass running towards their rear, the front of the whole covered by a wood and towards the left by a morass. The first part of this day's march was through a close and unsettled country, the latter through one more settled and open, the village of Freehold standing on an extensive plain.

*June 27th.*—The army halted this day. Many straggling parties of the enemy, both horse and foot, were seen hovering about, and some of the King's troops were picked up by venturing too far beyond the advanced pickets. The greater part of the village of Freehold was abandoned, but some stands of arms were found, supposed to belong to the militia.

*June 28th (Sunday).*—The army marched in two columns, the left division led by General Clinton taking the high road from Freehold

to Middleton, and the right under Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, having with it the whole of the baggage of the army, marched through a close woody country for several miles without the least molestation or annoyance from the enemy until about 12 o'clock, when a party of 15 or 16 of their militia, taking the advantage of our flanking parties being too widely dispersed, broke through the provision train and wounded two or three men and as many horses, without halting at all, and another party of about 40 or 50 made an attempt upon the baggage, but went off again upon the appearance of two companies of the 40th regiment, which composed part of the rear guard. Upon the alarm being given in front, the 10th and 49th regiments, which had been covering the flanks of the artillery, provision train and baggage, were ordered to the rear with two 3-prs., and the 2nd brigade of the British was halted to reinforce them in case of necessity. The enemy, however, did not make any further attack upon this column, but the engagement with the left column was of a much more serious nature.

Mr. Washington, having crossed the Delaware at Correll's Ferry with his whole force, marched to Hopewell township about five miles from Princetown, when he halted till the 25th instant, making large detachments under Wayne, La Fayette, and Morgan. On the 28th in the morning he marched to English-town, about five miles from Monmouth, having an advanced corps of 5,000 men under General Lee, which about 8 o'clock in the morning came up with the rear of the left division, but were soon repulsed and driven back with little or no loss on our part. General Clinton being apprehensive in case of his not pushing them further, that they might fall in with our light column, which was much encumbered with provision waggons and baggage of the whole army, therefore continued his pursuit and between 11 and 12 o'clock fell in with the main body of their army, when a very heavy cannonade supported by musketry took place on both sides for several hours, and the enemy were driven from height to height beyond the village of Freehold, but night coming on, General Clinton thought proper to make a junction with his other column, which he effected about nine o'clock the next morning, the troops having been 30 hours without halting or hardly any refreshment for man or horse. Many more men died through fatigue alone than fell by the hands of the enemy. The loss on the part of the King's army amounted to about 340 killed, wounded and missing, and fell chiefly upon Captain Williamson's and Standish's brigades of artillery, 1st battalion of guards and the two battalions of British grenadiers. The most mortifying circumstance attending the action was that notwithstanding the enemy was beat back in every attack and our troops kept the field till 12 o'clock at night, we were under the necessity of leaving a great part of our wounded officers and men behind for want of sufficient waggons to bring them off. Lieutenant-General Knyphausen's column halted at sunset at a place called Nut Swamp, about two and a half miles from Middleton, where he encamped in nearly a circular form with his rear to Middleton.

*June 29th.*—Soon after General Clinton's division had joined the

other, Major-General Grant was pushed forward to Middleton with the 1st and 2nd brigades of British, the 2nd battalion of light infantry and the 16th regiment of dragoons, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the Hessian brigades of Sterne and Walworth took the same route, followed at 5 by the park of artillery, provision train, and baggage of the army.

*June 30th.*—At 4 o'clock in the morning Brigadier-General Leslie's brigade moved forward and took post with their left to Shrewsbury river. The park of artillery also moved about 4 miles escorted by the brigade of Sterne, and about 10 o'clock in the evening the baggage was ordered from Middleton and followed by the troops who had taken post there the day before.

*July 1st.*—About daybreak the troops took up their new ground, which had been reconnoitred the evening before by the Quarter-Master-General, on the heights of Nave Sink forming a camp of nearly three fourths of a circle, the right extending to Sandy Hook Bay, and the left to Shrewsbury River, and thus covering the embarkation of the artillery, provisions, baggage, etc., and the transportation of the horses which commenced this day.

*July 2nd.*—The army continued in the same position on the heights of Nave Sink and the embarkation continued.

*July 3rd.*—It rained very hard the greater part of this day, the embarkation of stores and baggage, however, went on, as did the transportation of horses, first to Sandy Hook by swimming them over a passage of about 50 or 60 yards in breadth, which the force of the tide has lately made between the heights of Nave Sink and the peninsula on which the lighthouse stood, and which is now become an island, and from the Point they were transported to Long Island in small vessels.

*July 4th.*—This day also proved rainy, but did not retard the embarkation and it being determined to make a bridge on flat boats from the mainland to the lighthouse island, it was nearly effected this evening and completed the next morning.

*July 5th.*—The troops were under arms at 4 o'clock in the morning, and moved towards the sea beach in four columns, from which they doubled up, first into three, then into two, and finally into one, in order to cross the bridge, the passage of which they effected in about four hours and the bridge was broken down. The flat boats being ready to receive them, the embarkation began from the beach of the lighthouse island and was completed that evening, but too late for the transports to proceed to their respective destinations. The Commander-in-chief after having seen the passage of the troops to the lighthouse island effected and the bridge broke, came up to New York where he fixed his head-quarters.

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The French, as soon as they had concluded the defensive alliance with the Thirteen Colonies, began to arm by sea. They fitted out at Toulon a squadron of 12 ships of the line and six frigates, which with a considerable body of troops on board, sailed on April 13th, under Comte d'Estaing for America. Contrary winds delayed its progress so that the coast of Virginia was not reached until the 5th July, the day on which the British army embarked at Sandy Hook. Meanwhile the English government equipped a fleet of equal strength, and in May despatched it under Admiral Byron to America.

We now return to Captain Downman's narrative, at the point where we left off.

#### CHAPTER V.

*The army from Philadelphia arrives at the heights of Nave Sink. Cross over to New York. A French fleet appear off the coast. Anchors off Sandy Hook. Proceeds to Rhode Island. Manœuvres of the French and English fleets. Violent storm. Colonel Bolton's expedition.*

June 28th, 1778.—I went to Jamaica, Long Island, to Colonel James. At 10 o'clock the same evening an express arrived and informed him the bomb vessels were ordered round to Sandy Hook to cover the embarkation of our army from Philadelphia. We set off directly to go down to the Narrows. We lost ourselves in a wood and did not arrive at Denyse's Ferry till six in the morning, where we got a boat and went on board the *Thunder* bomb, from whence we reached the *Carcass* bomb tender and proceeded to the Hook with a number of other ships.

June 29th.—Our army is arrived near the shore to the right of the Nave Sink. The flat and other boats are preparing to receive them.

June 30th.—Very early this morning the sick and wounded and baggage were embarked, also the artillery that formed the park, and all the provisions and other waggons. Our army has taken post on the commanding ground near the bay. They have had a most fatiguing march. They have not only had rebels to encounter, but intense heat and a general want of water, for the rebels cut the ropes of all the wells and filled them with rubbish, so that many of our men died raving mad.

From the 1st to the 4th July, 1778.—The artillery horses, etc., have been embarking. The horses with a great part of the army chiefly embarked from Lighthouse Point. The rebel army fired a *feu de joie* about 7 o'clock this evening, the anniversary of independence.

July 5th.—During the day the whole of our army embarked and the vessels proceeded towards the Narrows. The embarkation of our troops was not at all molested by Mr. Washington, who retired to some distance after the affair of the 28th of last month, the account of which is as follows:—

The action commenced after a march of eight hours at 12 o'clock on the hottest day imaginable. The British guards formed the rear of the army, the rebels insulting the flanking parties. At 11 o'clock

the General reconnoitred the enemy, and finding them in force ordered a halt on the heights of Freehold, having given orders accordingly to the advanced part of the army on the march. The rebel battalions showing a disposition to stand, the Commander-in-chief ordered the rear of the army to join the front, and the light horse to advance and charge those in front of the wood leading to Freehold Court House, at the same time commanding the 1st battalion of guards to support the cavalry and follow the charge with bayonets. During the movement, while the guards were loading, the advancing cavalry received a fire from 300 of the enemy in a wood on the right<sup>1</sup>.

One of the most fortunate events that attended the British army since their being in this country, was leaving Philadelphia and marching through the Jerseys, for there would have been so many delays attending the embarkation of an army, horses, etc., and in getting the fleet out of the Delaware, that before it could have been accomplished and the fleet could have arrived at New York, the French fleet would have taken possession of the river Delaware, and totally blocked us up. There we must have remained perhaps until we starved. What could we have done? If we had destroyed our transports, etc. and then marched through the Jerseys where could we have gone to? The French would undoubtedly have taken New York, there being no ships of force enough to have prevented their getting up.

*July 12th.*—A French fleet consisting of 11 ships of the line and some frigates came to anchor off the Nave Sink, Lord Howe remains in the Hook, his force too small to attack them. Admiral Byron with a fleet is expected every day, but until his ships or some others do arrive nothing can be done against them. They have taken the *Carcass* bomb tender that was driven out of the Hook by a hard wind. Lieutenant Garstin,<sup>2</sup> who succeeded Lieutenant Stephens<sup>3</sup> in that command, has lost everything he had in the world, and himself escaped with three men in a small boat. He had just taken the command, and while he went to Lord Howe to report the situation of the tender, then lying nearer the French than our fleet, they manned boats and took him. When were the British arms in such a situation as just now! An English army surrounded by that of rebels. An English fleet blocked by a French!

*July 13th.*—Colonel James and myself went down to the Narrows, and to Gravesend, and had a view of the French fleet. General Clinton has fixed his head-quarters for a few days at Mr. Denyse's. The 42nd and some other troops are encamped here.

*July 20th.*—Went to New York and paid Commissary Grant £30 sterling. Saw the Mingo Tyrant, he has allowed me to continue at Jamaica a little time longer for my health. The French fleet are still before our post, and have taken several prizes. The *Leviathan*, a 74, has been fitted up and manned in a few days by volunteers only. The masters, mates, and seamen in general have shewn much forwardness

<sup>1</sup> This account ends abruptly, and was evidently intended to be carried to another page of the diary, but cannot be traced.

<sup>2</sup> Kane's List, No. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Kane's List, No. 403.

on this alarming occasion and have offered themselves to go anywhere Lord Howe may think proper to send them.

*July 21st.*—Returned to Jamaica. It is strongly reported that three companies of artillery are going to the West Indies. It is imagined to Jamaica to reinforce that island.

*July 22nd.*—The French fleet went this day from before our harbour, whether from an appearance of blowing bad weather, or from intelligence of Admiral Byron's being near, we are not able to determine. We are in great apprehension for the fate of a considerable Cork fleet which is expected daily. The loss of this fleet may be attended with fatal consequences.

*July 24th.*—Went to New York from Jamaica. For a certainty the *Cornwall*, a 74, one of Admiral Byron's fleet arrived upon the coast near the Hook, and the rest of them are hourly expected. It is reported the French fleet are gone to Rhode Island.

*August 7th, 1778.*—Lord Howe and his fleet sailed from the Hook in search of Mons. d'Estaing. It is imagined he has been joined by some of Byron's fleet, if so, the destruction of the French fleet is inevitable; they are now lying before Rhode Island, and we hear intend in conjunction with Washington's army to make an attack on that place. General Pigot, who commands there, has written to Lord Howe informing him of it, and says he has a garrison of good men all in health and spirits, in no want of provisions, and in no concern about the threatened invasion. Two of d'Estaing's fleet we hear have been very roughly handled by a battery of ours. About twenty transports with two frigates are gone up the Sound to the eastward, to be in readiness to take troops on board from Long Island, and away at once. The 16th dragoons are gone to Huntingdon on that island, the 17th lie at Flushing, and the light infantry and grenadiers, with four regiments are encamped at Bedford. General Tryon with some provincial corps has gone to the east end of Long Island.

In the night of the 9th, some rebel rascals set fire to the town of New York, and before the flames could be extinguished, 60 or 70 capital houses from Dock Street to Centre Market were consumed. On the 10th, a sloop lying in the east river opposite the coffee house, having on board 250 barrels of powder, was blown up, it is supposed by lightning. Fortunately only one person was on board. The shock was so great that almost every window in the town was broken, and the roofs of many houses damaged.

*August 11th.*—The wind began to blow about noon excessively hard from S.E., and continued with some variation for four days. We are under some disagreeable apprehension concerning Lord Howe, whether he has been able to act against the French, or whether his fleet has been dispersed by the storm.

*August 15th.*—We have just been able to learn the following account of Lord Howe.

"Lord Howe's fleet made the high land off Rhode Island, on Sunday the 9th of August at noon, and at 2 o'clock p.m. came in



sight of the Light House; in about half an hour the masts of the French fleet could very plainly be distinguished anchored within the land. About 7 p.m. the British brought to and came to anchor off the mouth of the harbour, distance about five miles. The next morning, Monday the 10th, about 8 o'clock, a very severe cannonade commenced, which for half an hour at least we could not explain, and continued for two hours. At last we could plainly perceive the *Languedoc* (the French Admiral's ship) standing out of the harbour's mouth and the batteries on shore warmly plying her and the rest of the fleet then getting under way, and they returned the fire. As soon as Lord Howe observed the French fleet to be getting under way, he ordered the British to slip their cables, which was instantly effected and the whole were under an easy sail in a few minutes. His Lordship immediately directed the line of battle to be formed, the *Eagle* leading the van with no more than her main and fore topsails set and two top gallant sails on the cap, while the French fleet crowded all the sail they could carry. Lord Howe carried no more than the above described sail the whole day, with which he drew these perfidious Frenchmen off the coast, and that too almost imperceptibly for *no doubt very wise purposes*. His Lordship's approved abilities leave great room to form the most sanguine expectations. About 8 o'clock on Monday evening, the van of the French fleet was about a mile distant from the rear of the British. The French fleet consisted of 12 capital ships and two smaller, one of 90 guns, one of 84 and ten of 74. Lord Howe had with him only eight line of battle-ships, one of which is a 74, the others all 64's, and five of 50, and two of 44 guns, with some frigates and fire ships, galleys, etc. It was imagined that Lord Howe would engage the French fleet in the night that he might have a better opportunity of grappling them with his fireships."

The following is another account of the occurrences at Rhode Island.

"When the French fleet invested the place, the Comte d'Estaing sent a message demanding its surrender to the forces of the United States and the French vice-admiral. General Pigot answered it from the mouth of his artillery. A heavy cannonade from both sides succeeded, which lasted two hours, notwithstanding the Comte had pledged his honour with the rebel chief that he would in 25 minutes silence the British batteries. During the operations, the *Languedoc* by egregious bad management, swung round, presenting her stern to a battery of large cannon, several balls from which went through her fore and aft, in which position the lofty ship was raked without being able to bring a single gun to bear upon the battery. Therefore, under such an humiliating circumstance, the Comte, to save his ship from imminent destruction, found it necessary, with his squadron, to cut their cables and stand out of harm's way. The French fleet in general, but especially the large ships, were very much disabled, and their hands were employed two days in plugging the shot holes and patching them up for another voyage. On Sunday the 9th, the Comte entirely abandoned the enterprise against Rhode Island, left the harbour and proceeded to sea, and presently came in sight of the

British fleet. Early on Sunday morning following, the fleets were left within a very short distance of each other. The French lost a considerable number of men, and they landed a great many wounded. The batteries lost but one man. There came on a violent gale of wind about noon of the same day, which we fear has prevented his Lordship from engaging the enemy. This gale continued with great violence for three days blowing from S.E., or there about."

By a letter from St. Augustine we are informed that a body of rebels attempted that place, but were driven off with loss, and that a number of armed rebel vessels intending likewise to make an attack, are blocked up in St. Marie's river, 70 miles distant, by some English vessels.

In the evening, several men-of-war, supposed to be part of Lord Howe's fleet, came and anchored off Sandy Hook.

*August 16th.*—The *Isis* man-of-war of 50 guns, Captain Raynes, being separated by the storm from Lord Howe's fleet, fell in about 12 leagues from Sandy Hook with the French rear-admiral's ship of 74 guns. The Frenchman bore down on the *Isis*, and when near gave three cheers as if certain of her. The *Isis* answered her cheers with a broadside. An action ensued which continued for a considerable time, when the Frenchman was obliged to bear away and make his escape.

We hear from Albany that some time ago Colonel Bolton, with a detachment of the 8th Regiment, some friends to government and a number of Indians, assembled at Unadala in Tryon country, from whence they proceeded to the settlements of Cherry Valley, Springfield, and Anderstown and the back settlements of Schohary, where they destroyed about 300 houses, killed upwards of 170 rebels found in arms, drove off a great many cattle, seized a sufficient quantity of provisions to subsist the party, gave an opportunity to many loyalists to join them and returned to the place of rendezvous. Thence they proceeded down the Susquehanna river to Wyoming in the province of Pennsylvania, attacked that settlement, killed upwards of 400 rebels, being all that were found in arms, but spared the women and children and sent them to their rebel friends. Upwards of 5,000 persons fled in the utmost distress and consternation. The friends to government take arms and join Colonel Bolton's party, which increases fast and continues to spread terror on the western frontier of the province of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The proceedings greatly alarm the leaders of the rebellion in the province of New York, who have lately passed an act to force the loyalists to abjure the British Government. In consequence, an oath is tendered to those most notoriously attached to government, but they reject it with disdain, and will be obliged unless soon relieved to abandon their families and property and attempt to return within the British lines.

The following reveries, by way of address to the inhabitants of Connecticut, have been handed about by a rebel officer and have had great effect upon the minds of the people.

TO ALL AMERICANS WHO ARE JEALOUS OF THEIR LIBERTIES.

"What a situation have we brought ourselves to! Not till now have

we had a convincing proof of the tyrannous sway we are to expect. Have we been fighting to support Washington, to establish him an absolute tyrant? He writes to Congress that he obtained a victory on the 28th of June. Congress obsequiously thanks him as the Senate did Tiberius. What was the victory? Being beaten back as often as we advanced, a few wounded men and officers unable to be removed are prisoners. It is a notorious falsehood Washington! Adultery, obedient Congress, born to be slaves! Vile Senate! Infatuated Americans! Washington, the General, the man of honour and veracity can make you believe that black is white, victory defeat, that is, compel your grateful Congress to vote him thanks for nothing, and we deluded people must be gulled by it. Awake Americans! awake! It is now you are losing your liberties. I appeal to every American officer, the General excepted, if this was a victory, and if any man was more active, or in a more dangerous situation than your real friend on that day,"

(Sd). A Colonel in the Continental American Army.

*August 18th.*—We are told by a vessel just arrived that eight sail of Comte d'Estaing's fleet, one of which is dismasted, are at anchor off Cape May (Delaware). Lord Howe with all his fleet are arrived at Sandy Hook. He had much better be looking out after the Frenchmen. It will hardly be believed that 15 two-deckers, eight of that number of the line, eight frigates, two bombs, three fire-ships, four galleys, and four armed sloops, all well manned, in great spirits, all Englishmen, and commanded by Lord H., should run away from a French fleet of 12 line of battle-ships. Believed or not, 'tis truth! On Monday, the 10th of August it happened off Rhode Island, on a very fine day, with a gentle breeze and smooth sea, and with ships that could sail faster than the enemy's. From 9 o'clock in the morning till 8 o'clock at night did his Lordship bear the mortification of being driven by Frenchmen, and even on Tuesday, before the gale came on, the two fleets were together, and yet no fighting—'tis wonderful! 'tis passing strange!—and what excuse he can make for such unaccountable conduct is not easily to be comprehended.

Since writing the above it appears that Lord Howe would undoubtedly have engaged the French fleet on Monday, if he had been to windward, and as he could not attack them with any hope of success unless he had that advantage, he kept going on not doubting but he would have his wish in the morning following. He had hoisted his flag on board a frigate and prepared to engage when the gale came on and separated both fleets. A list of his Lordship's fleet follows.

<i>Cornwall</i> , 74 guns	<i>Raisable</i> , 64 guns	<i>Phoenix</i> , 44 guns
<i>Eagle</i> , 64 "	<i>Preston</i> , 50 "	<i>Venus</i> , 36 "
<i>Trident</i> , 64 "	<i>Isis</i> , 50 "	<i>Richmond</i> 32 "
<i>St. Albans</i> 64 "	<i>Centurion</i> 50 "	<i>Pearl</i> 32 "
<i>Somerset</i> 64 "	<i>Renown</i> 50 "	<i>Apollo</i> 32 "
<i>Ardent</i> 64 "	<i>Experiment</i> 50 "	<i>Vigilant</i> 20 " 24-pr.
<i>Nonsuch</i> 64 "	<i>Roebuck</i> 44 "	<i>Sphinx</i> 20 "

<i>Daphne</i> 20 guns.	<i>Strombolo.</i>	} Fire ships.	<i>Thunder.</i>	} bombs and two tenders.
<i>Nautilus</i> 18 „	<i>Vulcano.</i> <i>Sulphur</i>		<i>Carcass.</i>	

Four galleys, three armed sloops, one armed schooner.

The *Thunder* bomb is missing, supposed to be taken by the French, or lost. Nothing could happen more fortunate for them, for some time ago they took the *Carcass* bomb tender, so that they now have two sea mortars and everything necessary for them. The *Ferret*, galley, Captain O'Brien, was cast away on the Jersey coast, and all the crew made prisoners by the rebels.

Five of our frigates, two sloops of war, with some transports and three galleys were burnt at Rhode Island to prevent their falling into the hands of Mons. d'Estaing. We are very fond of burning what we should not.

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## CHAPTER VI.

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*Actions between French and English ships. The naval and military operations in and near Rhode Island. General Grey's Expedition. Operations in the Jerseys.*

*August 20th, 1778.*—Lord Howe, with the fleet under his command, has obliged the Comte d'Estaing, and the rebel myrmidons, the respectable allies of his magnanimous master, to abandon their design on Rhode Island, and drawn the former with the formidable squadron under his command out to sea. His Lordship on Tuesday at midnight, 12th inst., when about 15 leagues off the east end of Long Island gave the signal for action, at which time the most dreadful storm ever known on this coast at this season of the year, arose and dispersed the two fleets. It continued without intermission until the Friday following, notwithstanding which, by his Lordship's magnanimity, and the undaunted bravery of the British officers and seamen, the following brilliant actions have been performed :—

On Sunday, 16th inst., the *Zélé*, of 74 guns, a French rear-admiral's ship, bore down upon H.M. ship *Isis*, of 50, shouting and huzzaing as if she was already his capture. The French admiral at the same time hoisted his flag. Captain Raynes, of the *Isis*, in the meanwhile ordered the strictest silence to be observed, and finding that the enemy gained upon him, took every precaution to receive her properly, not permitting his men to fire till she was within pistol shot. He then gave the French admiral so warm a salute that he was soon convinced of his inability to cope with the superior and well-directed fire of the *Isis*, and there is great reason to imagine he would have struck, as he was observed to throw his papers overboard, but finding the

*Isis* not in a condition to follow him, he wore round, and by crowding all the sail he could carry made his escape. During the engagement, a French officer of rank, remarkably well dressed, being observed animating the sailors who had deserted their quarters, some of the light infantry on board the *Isis* took aim at and laid him flat on the deck.

Last Saturday, 15th inst., in the afternoon, about 20 leagues to the S.E. of Sandy Hook, H.M. ship *Renown* of 50 guns, Captain Dawson, fell in with the *Languedoc* of 90 guns, commanded by Comte d'Estaing, which had been dismasted in the late storm. The *Renown* immediately attacked him on the quarter and kept up a brisk and well-directed fire from 4 o'clock till dark and the *Languedoc's* flag-staff was knocked down by the first broadside. During the night she continued firing guns and making signals of distress. Next morning at daybreak Captain Dawson observed six large French ships bearing down to the French admiral's assistance, which made it prudent for him to get away. No less distinguished was the conduct of Commodore Hotham, who in H.M. ship *Preston* of 50 guns, engaged the *Tonnant* of 80, which had lost her bowsprit and foremast in the storm, raking her fore and aft for a considerable time, and would have certainly brought her in, had not some of her consorts bore down to her assistance.

LORD HOWE'S ORDER, AUGUST 17TH.

"The bravery of the officers and ship's company of the *Isis*, amongst which the volunteers from the transports, and the soldiers of the 23rd regiment, have been particularly noticed, in a late action with a French 74, bearing a flag at the mizen-top-mast head, by them supposed to be the *Zélé*<sup>1</sup> and the distinguished ability and resolution of Captain Raynes shown on that occasion claims from the Admiral the publick acknowledgment of their meritorious services, by which they have furnished a bright example for the imitation of the British fleet."

*August 25th.*—Lord Howe with his fleet put to sea from the Hook in search of the French, who are it seems returned to Rhode Island after repairing those of their ships that were damaged by the storm. The *Isis* was obliged to come up to town, as her masts, sails, and rigging are all damaged. The *Monmouth* has joined Lord Howe.

A list of the French fleet under the command of the Comte d'Estaing:—

<i>Languedoc,</i>	90	<i>Fantasque,</i>	64
<i>Tonnant,</i>	80	<i>Provence,</i>	64
<i>Cæsar,</i>	74	<i>Vaillant,</i>	64
<i>Zèle,</i>	74	<i>Sagittaire,</i>	54
<i>Hector,</i>	74	<i>Chimère,</i>	30
<i>Marseilles,</i>	74	<i>Engagement,</i>	26
<i>Protecteur,</i>	74	<i>Alcmene,</i>	26
<i>Guerrier,</i>	74	<i>Aimable,</i>	26

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<sup>1</sup> It was the *Cæsar*, 74.

Besides this fleet it is reported that five French ships of force have joined him.

*August 26th.*—Yesterday the *Sibella*, with seven ships from Cork, arrived with provisions, after being up the Delaware as far as Reedy Island. They then took a French ship by which they learnt that the British forces had evacuated Philadelphia. So negligent are the people at home and such rebels at heart, that they did not inform the little fleet of the British troops quitting Pennsylvania.

*August 29th.*—It is said that the number of rebels landed on Rhode Island last Thursday amounted to 15,000 men, 5000 of which were continental troops with about 100 light horse, the remainder were the militia of Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Their artillery consisted of 15 brass cannon, the largest of which were 12-prs. On the preceding day they advanced within a mile and a half of the front of the British lines. They began to break grounds at the distance of half a mile from Tammany Hill, a very commanding eminence well fortified, but were obliged to desist in consequence of several well-directed shells from our artillery on the Hill. Their plan of operations was to attack the lines when the French fleet returned to engage the batteries. The rebels are reported to have no less than a thousand waggons transporting provisions, etc. to their army at Rhode Island.

On Saturday last, the 22nd, the French fleet put to sea from New Port, Rhode Island, and stood to the eastward, it is supposed to Boston, to repair the damages they have sustained by the late storm, the batteries on Rhode Island, and some of Lord Howe's squadron. This day, 29th, six sail, all 74's, of Admiral Byron's fleet, arrived at the Hook. The *Monmouth* and two others are supposed to have joined Lord Howe, who is in pursuit of the French fleet. This fleet have had a dismal passage; they are all disabled in some part or other and their men are extremely sickly. Those in the worst situation are now at Staten Isle undergoing repairs and recruiting their people.

*August 31st.*—By express from Rhode Island, we learn that the garrison under General Pigot was in high spirits as late as last Friday, 28th, and had not then lost a man, as the rebel General Sullivan and his army had not dared venture near enough to do any mischief. A bridge of boats was thrown across from the main to the Island, but it was supposed that the *Vigilant* with her 24-prs. would be sent against it.

*September 1st, 1778.*—We hear that Lord Howe, having heard of the precipitate departure of the French fleet from Rhode Island, despatched the *Vigilant*, *Sphinx* and *Nautilus* to Newport, while he proceeded in quest of Comte d'Estaing's fleet. By a vessel which sailed from Rhode Island on Friday last and arrived here on Sunday, we learn that the *Vigilant* and *Sphinx* were preparing to demolish the rebel bridge over which upwards of 20,000 of them had crossed, but dared as soon eat their fingers as attack our little garrison, who are in high spirits, and entertain a contemptible idea of these invaders. It is said that the dread of having their retreat cut off operates so powerfully upon these Yankoes, that they have begun to send back

their heavy artillery and baggage to the continent, and it is presumed will in a few days relinquish the expedition in their usual precipitate disgraceful manner. Those ships of Admiral Byron's squadron now arrived consist of :—

<i>Royal Oak</i> .—Admiral Parker.	} 74 guns each.
<i>Conqueror</i> .—Captain Colby.	
<i>Sultan</i> .—Captain Wheeler.	
<i>Grafton</i> .—Captain Wilkinson.	
<i>Bedford</i> .—Captain Affleck.	
<i>Fame</i> .—Captain Graves.	

*September 2nd*.—Early on Monday morning a party of 20 jägers were attacked near Valentine Hill by a body of rebels consisting of several hundreds, who killed 13 of the jägers, the remaining seven making their retreat. Immediately some troops of the new corps advanced, fell in with, and engaged a body of rebels and Indians of the Stockbridge tribe, the latter under the command of their chief Sachem Ninham, who with his son fought with desperation until a great number were killed, and the enemy then fled in the greatest confusion. Of 48 Indians only six, and of 60 rebels only eight returned. The British loss was only two killed and seven wounded. Some prisoners are taken, among them two Indians and a rebel captain. The Indian chief and his son were both killed. This action was about two and a half miles from Colonel Cortland's.

*September 3rd*.—It is reported that a court-martial, constituted by the rebels for the trial of their General Lee (who in some way or other misbehaved himself on the 28th June last, in the action with the British at Monmouth in the Jerseys) has sentenced him to be suspended 12 months for the *petty* crimes of cowardice and disobedience of orders!

Nothing could equal the chagrin of the Comte d'Estaing when he returned to Rhode Island after the storm, and found the garrison of Newport unmolested, and much better prepared to give him a warmer reception than before. The confabulation between him and the rebel generals was exceedingly acrimonious. They accused him of making an ostentatious parade with the powerful fleet under his command, without doing any essential service, and he retorted by affirming that after having facilitated their descent upon the Island, which they never could have done without his assistance, their prowess and valour had fallen so short of his expectations that he was reduced to the necessity of putting again to sea before Lord Howe to find a post to repair his shattered fleet.

The accounts of General Lee's conduct at the action at Freehold Courthouse are conflicting. The English affirm that Lee having been

sent forward with an advanced corps of 5,000 men to attack the rear of General Clinton's army, after crossing some narrow passes across a marsh under the belief that he was only opposed by a rear guard of two or three battalions, suddenly found himself confronted in a plain by 6,000 British picked troops. As Lee considered his position, if attacked and overpowered, would have been hazardous, he retired at once before the enemy were able to form and attack him. During his retreat he met Washington with the main army advancing, who caused a stand to be made by Lee's corps supported by his own troops. Washington in his despatch to Congress dated July 1st, 1778, makes no distinct charge against Lee beyond the fact of his having retired, but states that he is under arrest.

*September 5th.*—We are just now informed by accounts dated August 29th, that the fleet under Lord Howe had safely effected the very difficult passage of the south channel as far as latitude 40.51. That H.M. ship *Ariel* had the preceding Wednesday taken a rebel privateer of 16 guns, carrying 18 pilots as they acknowledged to meet the French fleet under the Comte d'Estaing, and to navigate them into Boston harbour. The pilots mentioned that the *Zélé*, which the *Isis* engaged, had again found the French fleet, and that she has suffered much. The commander lost his right arm, 20 seamen were killed, and 50 wounded. When the informant left the British fleet last Saturday, Captain Hyde Parker in the *Phoenix* hoisted a signal, "four sail to the N.E.," on which the whole fleet immediately gave chase. General Hancock, the arch-rebel, writes thus to his brother rebel at Boston, August 11th: "General Sullivan intends to advance to-morrow, if the French fleet returns, to attack the next day." The French fleet did return, but neither the admiral nor their general dared risk an attack. Another rebel gentleman writes as follows: "The advance of the army is commanded by Colonel Livingstone, the right wing by General Green, the left by the Marquis de Lafayette, the 2nd line by General Hancock, and the reserve by Colonel West. The army are in high spirits and are determined to return victorious." By a vessel which left Rhode Island last Monday, we are told that the British transports that went from New York the other day through the sound with the 3rd and 4th brigades of the army, the 1st grenadiers and 1st light infantry with their artillery on board under General Clinton himself, intending for a dash on Rhode Island, from the shifting of wind to the eastward were obliged to anchor off the harbour of Newport. This occasioned a sudden adjournment of the above-mentioned high-spirited army with its wonted celerity to the continent, an insular position having ever since the Brooklyn and Staten Island affairs been deemed hazardous to the operations of heroes thus deter-



*mined to return victorious.* The particulars of this bashful business, in which the united powers of King Congress and King Louis have been employed by land and sea, I hope soon to have a full account of.

Scarce a week passes without two, three, or more French and rebel vessels being brought in here prizes to our frigates or privateers fitted out from this place.

*September 6th.*—No news has yet arrived of Lord Howe. A great deal depends on him, as a good stroke struck at this juncture against the French fleet might be of service to us.

*September 7th.*—It is confidently reported that at the time the rebels were hurrying off from Rhode Island, General Pigot ordered a detachment out to molest them as much as possible. The detachment attacked them, and an engagement was brought on in which a number of men on both sides are said to be killed.

*September 8th.*—General Clinton returned to New York this morning from Rhode Island without having it in his power to chastise the insolence of the rebels landed there, for they had heard of his intention and very prudently given up their plan and all pretensions of returning victorious. The report of an action between General Pigot and the rebels on Rhode Island is confirmed by the arrival of General Clinton; the particulars have not yet transpired, but it is said the British have lost 250 killed and wounded, and the rebels 1,060. The British artillery are said to have behaved, in this as in every other affair, well, and have suffered much.<sup>1</sup> This is the third time Rhode Island has been attempted, and the third time the rebels have left it with disgrace. They are at a loss to find out an excuse for the failure this time, and therefore most bitterly and heavily accuse Comte d'Estaing, charging him with perfidy and cowardice. We have just got from Philadelphia the following funny report on the above subject:—

When the news arrived there that General Sullivan had been under the necessity of withdrawing the rebel army from Rhode Island, and that he attributed the same to Comte d'Estaing's having shamefully deserted them, it called to mind their former experience of the perfidy of the French nation, and occasioned great murmurings among the troops and the inhabitants in general. This coming to the ears of M. Gerard, he immediately sent the following message to Congress in order as is supposed to pacify the people:—

"M. Gerard takes the earliest opportunity of expressing to Congress the indignation he feels for the conduct of Comte d'Estaing in deserting the army of the United States in their attack upon Rhode Island, and he will by the first conveyance lay the same before His Most Christian Majesty."

A committee was formed immediately to represent to Congress the absolute necessity there was for some step to appease the *vox populi*. They pledged their honour that in case M. Gerard's representation to his king did not obtain proper satisfaction for the Comte d'Estaing's

<sup>1</sup> Lieut. W. Pemble (Kane's List, No. 503) lost his right arm on the occasion.

conduct, they would do themselves justice in some way or other, stop payment, change sides, and celebrate the 5th of November. The committee resolved, that the late expedition against Rhode Island was undertaken and determined on, in consequence of the Comte d'Estaing having pledged his honour to Congress that he would block up the harbour of Newport until the army of the United States should reduce the garrison.

Resolved, "that the failure of the said expedition against Rhode Island is solely owing to the shameful retreat of Comte d'Estaing at a time when the fleet under his command was greatly superior to that of the British."

Resolved, "that M. Gerard be requested to transmit the foregoing resolves to His Most Christian Majesty, and beseech him to supersede the Count, as from his conduct, Congress cannot place any confidence in his honour."

What think you of all this nonsense? I should not be much surprised to find ere long, Congress and the French go at it hammer and tongs.

Proceedings of His Majesty's troops under General Grey, i.e. those that went to Rhode Island with Sir Henry Clinton.

General Sullivan having by a timely retreat from Rhode Island evaded the blow that was aimed at him. General Grey turned his thoughts towards New London where he hoped to surprise a number of privateers. When he arrived off that harbour, not more than three or four small vessels were discovered in it. The General therefore would not risk the lives of any of the brave followers under his command for so inadequate an object. Having anchored there for some hours in order to draw the attention of the rebels to that point, he again set sail, and in the evening of September 5th arrived off Dartmouth, the river running into Buzzard's Bay. The troops were landed immediately and proceeded to the town of New Bedford where they destroyed several vessels and many rich stores without opposition. They then proceeded to the mills above the town, where they burnt a considerable number of vessels, and having crossed the river, demolished all the stores at Fair Haven. The rebels having abandoned their fort near this last town, a party was detached to it who destroyed 11 pieces of cannon and blew up their magazine. The troops then proceeded to Sconticut Neck, where they were re-embarked by 12 o'clock on the 6th, having had only six men wounded. Above 170 sail of vessels, 70 of them large, were destroyed, and nearly 10,000 head of sheep and cattle brought from the island of Martha's Vineyard in this expedition.

*September 10th.*—Lord Howe and his fleet are returned to New York. Monsieur d'Estaing has escaped him and got safe into Boston. O shame! shame! upon us; what the devil are we about? At this time there are lying snug in the harbour of New York, no less than 16 ships of the line of 50 and 44 guns, besides frigates, etc. Admiral Byron with three of his have arrived at Halifax. One of his ships was dismasted in the gale and was obliged to return to England.

*September 15th.*—We are informed that a number of transports have arrived at Halifax from England, having on board the 70th, and two highland regiments, the Duke of Hamilton's, and the Duke of Argyle's highlanders, the former 1,000, the latter 1,100 men.

*September 16th.*—Admiral Byron of the Blue, in the *Princess Royal* of 90 guns, and the *Culloden* of 74, Captain Balfour, arrived off the Hook, but not getting pilots to bring them in went for Rhode Island.

Our advanced new corps at King's Bridge under Simcoe, Emerick, and Tarleton, surprised a body of 150 Virginian riflemen, killed and wounded many and took 33 prisoners, among them three officers; our loss only one horse. We are informed of a riot happening at Boston between some British and French sailors. The former were supported by some townspeople. Comte d'Estaing's son was killed and he himself wounded in attempting to quell it. Mass is celebrated in one of the churches which causes unspeakable murmurs among the conscientious people of the place. Mr. Washington has left the White Plains, the scarcity of provisions it seems having obliged him to move.

*September 22nd.*—A strong detachment of our army of 7,000 men under Lord Cornwallis crossed over to Paulus Hook to make an excursion. Another party from Kingsbridge of 5,000 under General Knyphausen have also gone out, and a party from Staten Isle likewise. The intention or destination of these several parties are a profound secret.

Lord Howe in the *Eagle* left this place for England. He is made a Vice-Admiral of the Red. The navy are much concerned at his leaving them. He is undoubtedly an excellent officer, notwithstanding matters have not turned out so well as we could wish respecting the French fleet.

Admiral Byron it seems is to command the fleet he brought out with him as a fleet of observation, and Gambier is to direct all naval affairs.

*September 27th.*—A fleet of victuallers sailed for Ireland. Governor Johnstone<sup>1</sup> has gone to England; he is out of the commission.

*September 29th.*—We have the following account from our army in Jersey. Our commander having information that 700 rebel militia were cantoned in the neighbourhood of Hackinsack, a little after 11 o'clock on Sunday night, ordered the troops to march, but two soldiers deserting gave notice of our approach, so the enemy pushed off and our intention was frustrated. However, we were more successful in another object. The 2nd light infantry, the 71st regiment, and the Queen's rangers who had passed the Hudson river at Dobb's Ferry, were engaged in it. There they fell in with the 3rd Virginian battalion, a cavalry regiment distinguished by the appellation of Washington's guards, consisting of 110, originally 180, very well appointed cavalry with extremely good horses. Our troops dashed upon them

<sup>1</sup> Governor Johnstone, who had been a strenuous advocate in the British Parliament for the rights of the Americans, was accused of trying to bribe members of Congress by means of private letters, he therefore resigned.

with their bayonets to such effect, that only three of their corps escaped. Sixty including five officers were killed, with a number as yet unknown of the militia. The prisoners consist of 50 Virginians, many of whom are wounded. Colonel Baylor, their commander, is mortally wounded and left on his parole. He wrote to General Washington, "that he was very much mortified in being obliged to acquaint him that his whole regiment was killed or taken by the British." All their horses, accoutrements, etc. are brought in, with 300 head of cattle, a great number of sheep, etc.. The action happened near Tappan. The British did not lose a single man. Rebel officers prisoners.

Colonel Baylor, } Mortally wounded.  
Major McLeod, }

Captains Swan and Crane, Lieutenant Randolph, Cornet Fitzhugh, Ensign Gilchrist, Messrs Dale, Evans, Vanbrugh, Shutliff, and Kitty.

The following correspondence has passed between Sir Henry Clinton and the American Congress.

*New York, September 19th, 1778.*

To His Excellency Henry Laurens, Esq., President, and other members of the American Congress at Philadelphia.

SIR,—

Nothing but His Majesty's positive instructions, of which I send you an extract, would have induced me to trouble you or the American Congress again on the subject of the troops detained in New England, in direct contravention of the treaty entered into at Saratoga. The neglect of the requisition already made on the subject is altogether unprecedented among parties at war. I now, however repeat the demand that the convention of Saratoga be fulfilled, and offer by express and recent authority from the King, received since the date of the late requisition made by His Majesty's commissioners, to renew in His Majesty's name all the conditions stipulated by Lieut.-General Burgoyne in respect to the troops serving in America.

In this I mean to discharge my duty not only to my King whose orders I obey, but to the unhappy people likewise whose affairs are committed to you, and who I hope will have the candour to acquit me of the consequences that must follow from the new system of war you are pleased to introduce.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

H. CLINTON.

Please to observe the answer from these insolent scoundrels.

To his Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton, K.B., etc., etc., New York.

*Philadelphia, September 28th, 1778.*

SIR,—

Your letter of the 19th was laid before Congress, and I

am directed to inform you that the Congress of the United States of America make no answer to insolent letters.

I am, with due respect,  
Your obedient humble servant,  
CHARLES THOMPSON,  
*Secretary.*

A remonstrance had already been made by the commissioners to the Congress on August 7th on the subject of the violation of the Saratoga convention. It is undeniable that Burgoyne's army was treacherously detained three years in America in direct infringement of the agreement entered into between Generals Gates and Burgoyne. These troops were kept a year in or near Boston, then marched a distance of 600 miles to Charlottesville, at that time a village in the back woods of Virginia, and they were subjected to most ungenerous and vindictive treatment.

*October 10th, 1778.*—The *Raleigh* frigate (rebel), Captain Barry, of 32 guns and 255 men, was sent into New York by H.M. ship the *Experiment*, Sir J. Wallace commander, and the *Unicorn*, Captain Ford. She was discovered in Boston bay at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 26th September, when after a chase of eight hours the *Unicorn* engaged her, and the first broadside carried away the rebel foretop-mast and main-top-gallant-mast. The action continued till 10 o'clock. The *Experiment* coming up received a broadside which was instantly returned, and the rebel finding he could not escape, ran his ship aground on Sale Island, and made his escape in his boats with 102 of his men. Sir James Wallace has taken and destroyed no less than 16 armed vessels in his last cruise. The inhabitants of Boston applied to Monsieur d'Estaing desiring he would clear the bay of English ships, but Monsieur answered that he had no intention to divide his fleet, and that as soon as he was properly fitted, he intended to proceed to sea to fulfil the orders of the king his master.

Flour is so scarce in and round Boston, that the rebels are obliged to employ an immense number of waggons to convey it from all parts of the continent, at an enormous expense, to supply their great and good allies, the rascally French.

*October 12th.*—General Washington and his army are now in and about Peek's Hill, Fish Hill and Danbury.

An action happened on July 27th, 1778, off Ushant between the English fleet under the command of Admiral Keppel, consisting of 30 ships of the line, and the French fleet under the command of Comte d'Orvilliers of 32 ships of the line. The English had 133 men killed, three lieutenants, and 373 wounded. By most accounts, the French lost very considerably both in officers and men, it is said 3,000 killed and wounded. They ran away in the night and got into their own ports. When did it happen before that 30 British ships of the line engaged the same number of French and not one vessel was taken or destroyed? Wonderful! Passing strange! No war was declared at the time.<sup>1</sup>

A manifesto and proclamation has been sent by the British commissioners to the Congress and to the 13 states of America offering terms to be accepted within 40 days from the 3rd October, 1778. Everything is offered to the rebels they can desire but independence; if they neglect these fair proposals, the commissioners are to return to England, and the country I hope will be laid waste from stem to stern.

*October 22nd.*—Some little time ago, a small detachment of H.M.'s ships, two galleys, and four armed vessels under the command of Captain Collier of the *Zebra*, having on board 300 men commanded by Captain Ferguson, sailed from hence for Egg harbour, where after surmounting some difficulties in passing into the harbour, they destroyed 11 sail of vessels, among them a very fine ship, and others of considerable size. The troops being landed proceeded to destroy the settlement and store houses of the committee men and of every person notoriously known in the piratical vessels which have greatly annoyed the English. The salt works on the bay were also effectually destroyed. Captain Ferguson being informed that 600 rebels with four pieces of artillery were coming to attack him, determined to surprise them. Accordingly 250 men were landed on Mincock Island, and at 4 o'clock in the morning he passed the bridge undiscovered, and surrounded three houses in which the infantry of Pulaski's<sup>2</sup> legion were posted. These were instantly charged with the bayonet and 60 of them put to death on the spot, amongst them a Lieut.-Colonel, two captains, and four or five other officers. Ferguson only lost one man killed and one wounded. They embarked on board their ships, and soon after arrived at New York.

*October 25th.*—French ships are sent in here almost every day, prizes to our men-of-war and privateers. A cartel is settled between here and Boston, and many prisoners have already been exchanged. Those artillerymen taken in the *Thunder* bomb and tender have arrived at New York.

<sup>1</sup> It appears that the state of the wind and position of the respective fleets prevented Admiral Keppel bringing the French, who were unwilling to join battle, to a decisive action. There was also some mistake in our fleet in complying with the Admiral's signals. He and Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. were tried by courts martial, the former for misconduct and neglect of duty, the latter for misconduct and misbehaviour, but both were acquitted.

<sup>2</sup> Count Pulaski was killed in the unsuccessful assault made by the American and French troops at the siege of Savannah on October 9th, 1779.

## PART III.

*The capture of the Island of St. Lucia in 1778, and subsequent evolutions of the English and French fleets.*

The season for active operations being over, it was decided to retain at New York only such a number of troops as were necessary for the defence of the different posts. An expedition of 5000 men was therefore despatched to the West Indies under General Grant. Captain Downman accompanied the artillery portion of the force, probably in special charge of the ordnance and engineer stores sent with the expedition, of which he has left an exact list which is appended. His experiences of the capture of St. Lucia are detailed in his journal as well as in a letter written to a friend. We prefer to give the letter as it contains the fullest account of the operations.

## CHAPTER I.

*The expedition sails for the West Indies. The troops land at St. Lucia. A French fleet arrives off the Island, and makes an attack upon the English squadron.*

27th October, 1778. New York.

I embarked this day on board the *Friendship* ordnance store ship, under orders for an expedition to the West Indies, at least so conjectured. Captains Williamson's and Standish's companies are ordered for this service, both complete in men, 100 each. The officers are Captains Williamson, Standish, and Downman, Lieutenants Marlow,<sup>1</sup> Yorke,<sup>2</sup> Hamilton,<sup>3</sup> Edwards,<sup>4</sup> Todd,<sup>5</sup> Walker,<sup>6</sup> and Lock.<sup>7</sup> There are four ships belonging to the artillery, having on board the afore mentioned ordnance and stores. We have two sloops, on board of which are about 30 horses. The civil branch consists of a Commissary (Wood), Surgeon McLeod, Surgeon's mate Rollo, Clerk of Stores Mansfield, conductors, artificers, etc., etc., the whole under Captain Williamson.

<sup>1</sup> Kane's List, No. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Kane's List, No. 464. Brigadier General Yorke, when proceeding to the Cape in November, 1806 in command of three companies R.A., was lost in the wreck of the *George* transport.

<sup>3</sup> Kane's List, No. 600.

<sup>4</sup> Kane's List, No. 490.

<sup>5</sup> Kane's List, No. 513.

<sup>6</sup> Kane's List, No. 520.

<sup>7</sup> Kane's List, No. 559.

Ten regiments of foot and fifty light horse are also embarked; the regiments are the 4th, 5th, 15th, 27th, 28th, 35th, 40th, 46th, 49th and 55th, each about 500 men. The whole expedition under the command of Major-General Grant.

The sea department is commanded by Commodore Hotham, and consists of the *Nonsuch* 64, the *St. Albans* 64, the *Preston*, *Isis* and *Centurion* of 50 guns each, the *Venus* frigate, and the *Carcass Bomb* with her tender, Lieutenant Garstin, and about 50 transports. Lieutenant Pitts commands the Engineer line.

On the 29th of October, the fleet fell down to Staten Island, where we remained till the 31st, when we went down near Sandy Hook and came to anchor. The wind now began to blow very fresh from the N.E., and sent in a heavy sea; the weather was very cold, thick, and rainy.

Orders for the ordnance ships by Captain Williamson  
on board the *Lord Howe*,

28th October, 1778.

“The artillery on board each transport to be divided into watches and those on duty to furnish a guard and post the following sentries with side arms only, viz.: One at the cooking place to prevent fire. One at the door of the magazine, if powder or ammunition is on board. One at each gangway. The remainder of the watch to be constantly on deck, and are to be relieved every four hours. If an arm chest can be fixed on the quarter deck, twenty fire locks (or in proportion to the men on board) should be stowed in it, with a like number of cartouche boxes filled with ammunition. These arms not to be loaded, but kept ready to be used by the men on duty in case of any sudden emergency.

The officer commanding on board will order all the arms and ammunition to be examined every day, and the state they are found in to be reported to him. He must also take care that the arms are put so as to be easily got at upon all occasions when wanted. When the weather will permit, the men on board to be exercised. The commanding officer to order a non-commissioned officer to attend the delivery of all provisions and liquor for the troops, and whenever spirits are delivered out to them, that it is mixed with water, as two to one.

The men's berths to be visited every day to see they are washed and swept when the weather permits, and are sprinkled twice a week with vinegar.

The ports and scuttles of the transports are to be kept open whenever it can be done safely; of this the Master is the best judge.

The roll to be called twice a day upon deck in presence of an officer, who is to see that the men's hair has been combed, that they are washed and kept as clean as possible.

No smoking to be allowed between decks, nor lights of any kind except in lanterns, and these only in such fixed places as the Master shall think safe.



All fires and lights between decks to be put out at eight o'clock every night.

No fresh water to be used for washing during the voyage except by order of the Commanding Officer on board.

The Commanding Officer of each ship will get from the Master a copy of the daily allowance of provisions for the troops on board, as the men, women, and children are to be victualled agreeably to the instructions the Master of the transport has received from the Commissary General's office.

The men not to appear on any account in their regimentals, but to wear their canvas frocks and foraging caps.

A report to be made to Captain Williamson this evening whether the live stock and forage has been received agreeably to the order of yesterday, and if the military and civil branch are all embarked on board their respective transports."

(Signed)

GEORGE LEWIS HAMILTON,

*Lieutenant and Adjutant, R.A.*

*1st November.*—The wind blew hard all last night, and continued so the whole day, also very cold and rainy. During the night the wind blew so violently that the men-of-war were obliged to strike their yards and topmasts, and a brig belonging to the fleet was almost driven on shore.

*2nd November.*—This morning is very cold, but the sky clear, and the wind blows strong from the north. Afternoon turned out very fine and the wind became moderate.

*3rd November.*—Very early this morning the fleet got under way and stood to the S.E. with a fair pleasant breeze.

*4th November.*—The wind began to freshen and before night blew strong, but continued in our favour. From this time till the 9th the wind increased much and occasioned a mountainous sea, so that our ship rolled and laboured prodigiously, more than ever I experienced before, which made it most uncomfortable to me who am always sick; perhaps the cause was our being very deeply laden with heavy articles. The *Solebay* frigate with nine vessels which had sailed with us thus far, took their leave and steered south. They are destined for St. Augustine and Pensacola, having on board for those garrisons a Hessian battalion and Allen's corps.

*10th November.*—The *Venus* frigate crowded sail ahead of the fleet. We supposed her sent on to the place of our destination to reconnoitre in that quarter and to give notice of our approach. From the 10th to 16th, moderate weather, from 16th to 23rd, perfectly calm and very hot. We are now in the latitude of  $26^{\circ} 4'$ . From the 23rd to 29th quite calm, and very light winds and variable. This day we discovered a devil fish playing round our ship. He appeared to be about 15 feet from wing to wing. He had two sucking fish upon him one about two feet long, the other about a foot. These fish were quite white, and it seemed to us they gave him a great deal of uneasiness, for by the different attitudes the devil put himself into, we

concluded he wanted to shake them off, which he very often did, but in an instant they were fixed on the same place as before. The devil was attended by a great number of pilot fish, such as are generally seen in company with the shark. We caught six of these with small hooks from the stem of the ship; they were about one foot long, very handsome, and exceedingly good eating. The devil fish is of a dark brown, with a lighter colour running in irregular stripes across his back, the belly and the whole of the under part being perfectly white. His shape has a near resemblance to the skate or stingray, differing only in the fore part where he has two arms or feeders or feelers about three feet long, which he makes great use of when swimming, turning them different ways, as if to see or feel for prey with, very often making their extremities meet together. He often turned himself on his side, and then on his back, and in this position exhibited a most beautiful appearance, which was very much heightened by the lively and variegated colours of the small fish that attended him. It was curious and entertaining to observe how fearful these little aides-de-camp were of losing the company of their general and guardian, for whenever they ventured to the stern of the ship they scarcely stayed a moment, and never came at all unless the devil himself swam near; when this was the case they made a sally from their garrison and attacked our baits with great voracity. I could not discover the situation of the eyes of the devil fish, but I imagine they are between the feelers. He has a long tail not unlike a coach whip which he whisks about with much dexterity when on the surface of the sea. These fish, notwithstanding their enormous size, will often throw themselves several yards clear of the water, and do not be surprised when I assure you that the fish above mentioned was not so long by several feet as some I have seen off the coast of Florida. He remained about our ship from early morning till late in the afternoon when a breeze springing up we lost him. During the fine calm weather we have had for many days, we have been much entertained with the variety and abundance of fish that have played about us. We caught some flying and other fish. I have taken a representation of the devil as he appeared in the sea at the depth I believe of six or eight feet, with a sucker on one of his feelers, and his attendants the pilot fish.

From this time to the 9th December nothing worth remarking happened except our losing both the artillery horse sloops, and a brig with horses belonging to the army. On this day in the afternoon we saw the island of Barbadoes. Twenty years are past since I was on this Island on an errand similar to the present one; whether we prove as fortunate as then time will determine. As it was late in the day our Commodore made the signal for the fleet to heave to, which they did, and remained so during the night.

*10th December.*—Early in the morning we filled our sails and stood for the Island which appears as beautiful and as pleasing to the sight as it did when last I saw it. Though my passage then was much longer than this, every yard we advanced towards it at that time I thought produced a new beauty, and now I think the prospect equally

pleasing. The conveniences and comforts to be met with on shore are only truly enjoyed by people who have been confined a good while on board ship, and I could wish that a number of the good people of England who (though blessed with everything that is thought necessary to make life pass on agreeably) seem to be displeased and unhappy on shore, would take a sea voyage. Let them encounter hurricanes, seas mountains high, maggoty water, rotten bread, putrid beef and pork, and in short let them feel and be perfectly sensible of every danger and misery people at sea are subject to. When they have experienced some of these hardships, I may venture to pronounce that then, and only then, can they with a true appetite relish the many blessings and pleasures they day by day receive.

About noon the fleet came to an anchor in Carlisle Bay, but not till after a great deal of bustle and confusion occasioned by the ships all crowding together when going in, but no great mischief was done. Here we found Admiral Barrington with the *Prince of Wales* and *Boyne* men-of-war, and several frigates, among them the *Venus* which had arrived seventeen days before us. One of Admiral Barrington's frigates had just taken a French ship bound to Martinique having on board 300 soldiers, who are now prisoners in Bridge Town.

All this day and the 11th, we were busy on shore in procuring fruit and other necessaries for another trip. Every person belonging to the fleet was ordered to sleep on board their respective ships on the 11th, as we should absolutely sail on the 12th. At daylight the Admiral made the signal for the fleet to get under way, and by 8 o'clock the whole were ready to proceed, Commodore Hotham leading the van with his division of transports, Admiral Barrington with the centre and in the rear.

In this manner we continued going before a pleasant breeze till about sunset of this evening, when we saw the high land of St. Vincent at a considerable distance. The signal was now thrown out for the fleet to heave to with their heads to the northward; in this situation we remained all night carrying but very little sail.

On the morning of the 13th, we saw the Island of St. Lucia at a distance to leeward; we now knew this to be our destined port. The morning being very thick and hazy prevented our bearing down till eight o'clock, at which time the clouds began to disperse, the sun showed his face, his countenance was clear and promised a fair day. I wish the island presented as fair an appearance, but far on the contrary it exhibits the most unsociable inhospitable aspect I ever saw, mountains piled on mountains in the most irregular and rugged manner you can conceive, and clouds perpetually hide their summits. When we had passed the north end of the island we were under its lee and the sea became smooth and pleasant. As we proceeded along the shore we saw many white flags flying on little batteries, many cannon were fired, and the Island seemed to have taken a general alarm. We continued along shore till we came to a bay called the Grand Cul de Sac; here the fleet came to an anchor, and instant orders were given for the troops to land. It was not till after the Commodore and

several of our ships had dropped their anchors that a battery of four guns situated on a high rock at the entrance of the Cul de Sac fired a single shot. The Frenchmen were slow in their firing motions, but in the motions of their heels they were very active, for almost immediately after the *Commodore* brought his broadside to bear upon them and gave them a few shots they precipitately left their battery.

Before our arrival here the following orders had been given out by the Commander-in-Chief on board the *Preston*, 3rd November, 1778:—“Colonel Prescott, Lieut.-Colonels Sir Henry Calder, Bart. and Medows<sup>1</sup> are appointed Brigadier Generals on the expedition. Lieut.-Colonel Musgrave of the 40th regiment, Deputy Quarter-master-General; Major Brown, Deputy Adjutant-General.

The 4th, 15th, 28th, 46th and 35th regiments form the first brigade under the command of General Prescott, to which Captain Smith of the 5th regiment is major of brigade. The 27th, 49th, 40th, and 55th regiments form the second brigade under Colonel Sir Henry Calder, Captain Baker of 5th regiment being his Brigade Major. The grenadiers and light infantry and 5th regiment compose the reserve under General Medows, Lieutenant Ross of the 35th regiment appointed his Brigade Major. Major Harris<sup>2</sup> of 5th regiment commanding the grenadiers, and Major Sir James Murray of the 4th regiment the light infantry.

When the troops are ordered to disembark they are to take on shore one day's provisions cooked and half a pint of rum each man, and 36 rounds of ammunition only.

The detachments will be made in the following order, and the commanding officers are to take care that the troops get into the boats by companies. The grenadiers, light infantry, and 5th regiment with four 3-prs. are the first debarkation. The first brigade with two 3-prs. is the second, The 2nd brigade with two 3-prs. is the third, and the cavalry and artillery stores, etc., etc., constitute the fourth debarkation. The sick to be left in the care of the women, and no woman is to land on any account.”

ARTILLERY ORDERS.—“The following officers are to take the command of the guns to disembark with the different brigades. Lieutenants Yorke and Edwards, with four non-commissioned officers and thirty-six men with four 3-prs., with the first debarkation. Lieutenant Todd, with two non-commissioned officers and eighteen men to the two 3-prs., with the second. Lieutenant Walker and two non-commissioned officers and eighteen men to the two 3-prs with the third. Captain Standish to superintend the second and Captain Downman the third debarkation.”

Before all the fleet had come to anchor, and the flat and other boats necessary for landing the troops were hoisted out, the afternoon was

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir Wm. Medows, Governor of Bombay.

<sup>2</sup> Originally in the Royal Artillery (Kane's List, No. 376). In 1788, Harris went to Bombay as secretary and aide-de-camp to Sir Wm. Medows. In 1799, when in command of the Madras army, he besieged and took Seringapatam. In 1815, he was raised to the peerage as Lord Harris of Belmont, Kent.

very far advanced, however, General Medows' corps was ordered to land, which was effected on the south side of the bay, without the smallest opposition, after the *Venus* frigate had fired a broadside or two into the woods. They then proceeded by the head of the bay to the road leading to Morne Fortuné, where a few popping shot passed, but it was soon over, and they remained quiet the remainder of the night, though extremely uncomfortable for it rained almost the whole time.

General Medows issued the following order this day:—

"Brigadier General Medows is extremely sensible of the high honour conferred upon him in having the command of the flank corps. From the acts of gallantry in the light infantry, the determined bravery of the grenadiers, and the confirmed discipline of the 5th regiment success is to be expected, and he sanguinely hopes the lustre of their actions in the field will not be tarnished by any irregularities out of it. The troops are desired to remember that clemency should ever attend on victory, that an enemy in your power is an enemy no more, that to be cruel and brave are almost incompatible, and the glorious characteristic of a British soldier is to conquer and to spare; acting on these principles they never can fail doing honour to their king, their country and themselves."

*14th December.*—Early this morning the other part of the army landed and took post on the high hills on both sides of the Cul de Sac; they also took possession of Morne Fortuné, a very high commanding hill, on which are the Governor's house, ranges of barracks, an excellent hospital, a tank or receiver for water, and number of other buildings. When the light infantry first advanced to this hill they were fired at by a few straggling Frenchmen who were on the rising ground above the hospital. Their fire was returned, and at that instant Monsieur Bevuaux, surgeon of the hospital, going to the door to beg protection for the sick, received a ball in his head of which he died soon after. We were concerned for the unlucky fate of this gentleman for his death was accidental, so say the light infantry; however, be it as it will, he was pillaged of his watch and a considerable quantity of money he had put into his pocket for preservation.

General Medows advancing, descended to the town of Careenage situated at the head of a bay of the same name about two miles and a half to the northward of the Grand Cul de Sac. He proceeded and took post on the Vigie, a high commanding ground forming the north shore of the Careenage, which is a peninsula, the neck not more than 150 yards wide. A battery of three 12-prs. [No. 1] was found here pointing into the Choc Bay. The French had taken no pains to disable the guns they left on their batteries, except by putting into a few of them old nails and files which were soon taken out.

The 4th regiment was ordered to take post on these high grounds forming the south side of the Careenage immediately opposite the Vigie. In this space of ground were found four batteries with many of the guns unspiked and a good quantity of ammunition. There is a battery of two 12-prs. [No. 2] on a small detached rock (to which you ascend by a

rope ladder). A little to the southward is another of three 12-prs. [No. 3] on the slope of a hill *en barbette*, commanding a small sandy bay on its left. A third one of five 18-prs. [No. 4] is strong and well made with embrasures and entirely of stone. This battery is well situated for the defence of the entrance of the Careenage, it is nearly on a level with the water, and about 200 yards from the rock battery. A fourth one [No. 5] of four 18-prs. is on the side of a hill very high and steep from the water, about a mile further up the harbour than the last mentioned one *en barbette*. There is also a well made stone battery on the opposite shore intended to protect the entrance of the Careenage, but this has no guns on it; this battery would rake the ship fore and aft that was firing at the five gun battery. The enemy did not attempt to defend any of these batteries, they only left a man on each, who at the approach of the English struck the white rag and ran off. They had several small cannon on Morne Fortuné, but made little use of them.

Every circumstance had hitherto turned in our favour as well as we could possibly wish; we were landed without loss, we are in possession of the enemies' batteries and strong ground, and nothing appears to be in the way to prevent the capitulation of the island in a day or two. But how uncertain are all human affairs, and how little ought we to depend on anything in this world, even the fairest appearances!

Our two commanders congratulated each other on the success of their endeavours hitherto, but little did they think what a storm was gathering over their heads at the very moment of their joy.

This afternoon two of our cruisers came into the fleet from the windward, firing guns and making signals for a fleet. In a very little time after, a numerous fleet was discovered standing from Martinique toward St. Lucia; half an eye was quite sufficient to distinguish it to be French composed of large men-of-war, frigates, and small vessels crowded with men.

I will leave you to form some idea of our thoughts and our situation at this moment. Gloomy as you probably think they were, I promise you most of us were in high spirits; our little army was tolerably well situated; our navy could not be so for they had not time.

The Comte d'Estaing, for it was no less a person, sent most of his small vessels into the Gros Ilot, a bay a few miles to windward of us, and cruised off and on with the ships of war till the morning. During the night Admiral Barrington made every preparation in his power to receive the Frenchmen handsomely and give them a hearty welcome. Our transports as you will readily suppose were lying in great confusion some on the inner and others on the outer side of the men-of-war; these were also lying in much irregularity when the enemy first appeared, but before Mons. d'Estaing did them the honour of a visit they were ranged in a line across the entrance of the Cul de Sac, had got springs on their cables, and presented their fair broadsides to Monsieur, an inviting prospect to a Frenchman when the odds were so much in his favour.

The French commander, however, merits the sincere thanks of every true Englishman for his politeness in not attacking us the in-

stant he arrived when we were jumbled together in this great disorder. By not doing so he lost the fairest opportunity he ever had, and I hope ever will have, of conquering. Nothing but the interposition of Providence could have saved us if he had behaved as he ought to have done, and I have the vanity to think, had our situations been *vice versa*, destruction and ruin would have fallen on the head of Jack Frenchman.<sup>1</sup>

On the 15th, early in the morning, I received orders from General Grant to land immediately with all the artillerymen I had. Captains Williamson and Standish were at this time on board their ship the *Lord Howe*, that had been the whole night attempting to get into the Cul de Sac, but being an indifferent sailor and having but little wind, she had fallen much to leeward, and if the Admiral had not sent all his boats to her assistance this morning she would have undoubtedly been taken. When I had climbed and waded knee-deep through mud and clay to Morne Fortuné, the General ordered me down to a battery by the waterside. Thither I slid and tumbled through roads worse if possible than that to the Morne. From thence I could see the whole fleet of d'Estaing, all his small vessels in the Gros Ilot, his line of battleships ranging themselves in order, and coming down along the shore toward us. We were ready to receive him before he approached. About 11 o'clock he passed our batteries at the Careenage. I saluted each as they advanced, but they were too far distant to fire at with any certainty of striking, yet some of them were struck. They returned the fire, particularly the *Languedoc* with 42-prs., but it was so wildly that it was hard to determine at what they aimed. On their getting near to our men-of-war they were again saluted by a battery of four 12-prs. [No. 6] the same that fired when we first entered the Cul de Sac. The enemy had spiked these guns, but on the night of the 14th they were made fit for service by Lieutenant Garstin who now commanded the battery, and who was of so much service to Admiral Barrington during the engagement that he publicly gave him thanks.

When the enemy's ships were nearly opposite to this battery they bore away in a parallel to ours, and now commenced a glorious thundering cannonade from the English and a no less tremendous fire from the French, which continued without the smallest apparent interruption till their fleet, which consisted of eleven line of battle ships, among them two of 84 or 90 guns each, had passed in regular succession. After going before the wind till quite out of reach of our cannon, the enemy hauled their wind and stood towards the Gros Ilot.

Every British heart was beating with transports of joy, and defied d'Estaing even should he come again with double the number of ships. We were soon informed that our fleet had received no damage, nor had they any men killed.

In the afternoon about 3 o'clock, the French admiral had got far enough to windward to form his fleet in the same order of battle as in the morning. In this order he again came on with twelve ships. He was again received with the warmth of all our hearts, and

<sup>1</sup> Twenty years later Nelson demonstrated the soundness of this opinion at the battle of the Nile.

again was he driven away, notwithstanding he and his officers had dined, and had taken *sans doute* an extra bottle. It was this bottle I believe that spirited several of them to venture nearer than they did in the former attack, by which some of their ships were a good deal disabled in their rigging and hobbled but lamely from the combat.

This rough true English mode of treatment so displeased our Frenchmen, already I fancy devilish sick with noise and smell of sulphur, that they determined both for their own welfare and from the regard they generally pay to their master's ships, not to adventure another attack. Had Byron arrived at this fortunate juncture, no longer should we call him the unfortunate Byron.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

*French fleet enters Choc Bay. Land their troops. Attack General Medows on the Vigie and are repulsed. French troops re-embarked. Their fleet departs. The Governor of St. Lucia capitulates.*

On the 16th December, 1778 at daylight, we saw the French fleet some miles to leeward of the island. In the afternoon it was close in shore to the north-westward. We concluded the enemy intended to have another brush at our ships, but they had got such a beating by our batteries and men-of-war that they dared not venture again. In the evening they stood into Choc Bay about three miles to the northward and came to anchor. As soon as it was dark we saw fires on the shore, and three rockets were discharged. This we rightly concluded was the prelude to landing their army. Their small craft left Gros Ilot Bay that they first went into, and came into Choc Bay, and before morning all the troops they contained were landed.

On the 17th, as soon as the dawn of day appeared and objects were to be distinguished, we saw the French army on shore and advancing in large columns. All our pickets and guards posted on the heights on the north side of the town came in, and the enemy took possession.

From thence they fired a few cannon shot at the 46th Regiment stationed on an eminence in the rear of the town. The 46th retired immediately, and none now of the British remained on that side but General Medows, who still kept ground on his Peninsula.

Early this morning I was ordered from the battery by the seaside [No. 4] to the one of four 18-prs. [No. 5]. I have already said it is

<sup>1</sup> Vice Admiral Byron had sailed from North America with the object of taking part in the expedition to St. Lucia, but most of his ships were so damaged in a storm that he was forced to put back.





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situated on a high ground, the hill from it down to the bay side being almost of a perpendicular steepness. It not only commands all the harbour, but also the Vigie, the town and all the ground on that side the Careenage. I believe the width of the Careenage to be 600 yards, and the distance from the entrance to the town a mile and a half. The instant I got to this battery I saw an occasion to use a few cartridges I luckily had brought with me to good effect, forcing a column of the enemy to retire that seemed inclined to take post in the skirts of the town.

The French army were now in possession of all the range of hills from above the town down to the Choc Bay side with a number of small cannon placed here and there. We had left the town entirely, but we had a post of the 46th Regiment within a hundred yards of it, immediately at the bottom of the road from the Morne. We had left the town in a violent hurry, for what reason I know not, because if we had chose to prevent it, a Frenchman could not live in it, but so it was. The Commissary, frightened out of his senses, ran away and left some provisions, which were useful to the French. Other people not knowing clearly what they were about left a number of boats and canoes in the town, though at this time we had not such a convenience to send across to General Medows or to do anything else that might be necessary. The enemy, I believe, conceived from our retiring so peaceably as they advanced, that we meant not to dispute any ground with them, but in this they found themselves egregiously deceived. It was in the middle of this night that a body of them silently entered the town, proceeded over the bridge and attacked the pickets of the 46th Regiment; they were soon repulsed with some loss; we also lost men, two killed and six wounded.

On the 18th, at daybreak, we observed the French army in motion, seemingly as if they intended an attack on General Medows. They were marching in strong columns from the hills opposite to us through the woods to their right, and taking post along the seaside and all the ground in our front. About eight o'clock we were convinced of their intention, for through the breaks in the wood we plainly saw three columns directing their course to the Peninsula. One approached by the Choc Bay side, the others proceeding through different roads terminating near an old redoubt, between which and Choc is a low level piece of ground. It was on this ground the enemy formed from their columns before they advanced to the foot of General Medows's hill. Five companies of our light infantry were advanced to the redoubt, and near it, part of whom narrowly escaped being surrounded by the French, who, much favoured by the thickness of the woods, had got close up to them before they were perceived, and but for an exertion of their usual agility a great many must have been taken. As it was Captain Downing, 55th, and another officer and eight men were made prisoners.

The French army in forming on so small a space of ground jumbled the right of one column on the left of another, and were in some disorder, which was not a little increased by the well directed fire of our artillery. However, they soon recovered in some degree, and began

their attack assisted by four small cannon. One part of them soon gave way, but were replaced by others, and in this manner, with little alteration of plan and manœuvring, they continued the action for two hours at a distance of not less than 280 yards. At length, after a slaughter and resistance, they were taught not to expect, they retired, some few in confusion, but the greater part in excellent order, bringing four guns to cover their retreat. In a critical moment for the British, the French determined their retreat, for at the time they effected it we had scarcely any ammunition left, the men having collected even what they could from their dead and wounded comrades, and our fire of course was nearly at a stop. General Medows had, however, prudently reserved to each man three or four rounds which, if the enemy had attempted the Hill, were to be given them, and then they were to charge with bayonets. This was the determination of General Medows (though wounded) and his officers. Glorious resolution, truly becoming British soldiers!

You will observe in General Grant's orders that the troops were to land with thirty-six rounds of ammunition only; the field pieces also by his orders had but a small proportion. This security, or inattention, or whatever you may please to term it in our Chief, was very nearly being attended with the most serious consequences—the destruction of 1,300 or 1,400 of our best troops, and perhaps, had they fallen, the whole armament. Why was not more ammunition sent to General Medows when there was an appearance of his being attacked? It was not thought of till it was too late to be of real service, and if it had been, it was to be sent for from our shipping by land, a tedious piece of business, and then a boat had to be found to transport it to the Vigie. It never once occurred to our Wisdoms, that a boat or two would be necessary and useful to us in this bay till the very instant one was wanted, and then everyone bawled out "Where are the boats; where are all the boats?" Says Colonel Chin, "no sir, by mere accident, only one boat secured on this side the bay; very extraordinary." At this very moment there were lying at the town three or four small sailing boats and several canoes, within half musket shot of our advanced picket, but we did not think it a matter of any moment when we were in possession of the town to move them to a place of safety, and now it would be dangerous, though under cover of our own posts, to attempt it.

Why would it be dangerous?

Because the French troops are so near us.

How near pray?

Not a yard less than half a mile.

And, pray sir, why did you leave a quantity of powder and other stores in houses on your own side the water so long at the option of the French, either to set on fire or carry away, when you might in open day have taken them away yourself?

In truth sir, I can assign no cause for such neglect but the one just mentioned—mere accident.

Just about the time the French army was retiring from the field of action, two of their 74 gun ships came to anchor off the harbour of

the Careenage and began a heavy cannonade on our batteries; their object no doubt was to cut off communication with General Medows, but the fire was so well returned that in about half an hour they were both obliged to retire, leaving behind them their anchors and cables.

The battery of four 18-prs. [No. 5] which I had the pleasure of directing this day, was, I am proud and happy to say, of great service to the British and destructive to the French troops. I not only galled the latter when advancing, but during the action when the flanks of their several columns were presented to me, and also in their retreat. General Medows did me the honour to call me his grand ally, and General Grant told me he was much obliged to me. It is a mere feather, yet not unpleasing.

The battery of three 12-prs. [No. 1] on the Peninsula was commanded by Lieutenant Walker and did much execution, though he could not bring all his guns to bear on the enemy, and was in some want of ammunition. The five gun battery [No. 4] at the entrance of the harbour was commanded by Lieutenant Todd, who struck one of the French ships a great number of times. The battery of two 12-prs [No. 2]<sup>1</sup> on the rock should have been commanded by Lieutenant Lock.

Lieutenants Yorke and Edwards were with the field guns with General Medows, and contributed not a little to the effusion of French blood this day. They had each some men wounded and only wanted more ammunition to have added much to the slaughter of the enemies. It now remains to mention our loss in these two actions. The navy sustained no greater than ten or twelve men killed and wounded and no damage worth speaking of done to any of the ships. This is wonderful and to account for it we can only say the French ships fired badly and kept at 100 yards distance, yet a great number of their shot went over ours. What the French men-of-war suffered we know not, this only, that several went away lame in their rigging, and the Comte has his nephew killed by a shot from one of the batteries.

The loss of the French army in the action of the 18th, was very few less, if any, than 400 killed on the spot and 1,200 wounded. The fortunate British had only 10 killed and 150 wounded; the officers wounded were, General Medows, Major Harris, and Lieutenants Pratt and Harris 5th Regiment, Captains Daly and Hay (since dead) 28th Regiment, Lieutenant Ross (Brigade Major) 35th Regiment, and Lieutenants Forbes and Gomm, 46th Regiment. We sent a flag of truce in the afternoon desiring them to come and bury their dead. Their boats were all the afternoon going backwards and forwards from the shore taking off as we imagined their wounded. To find a cause for this amazing disproportion in numbers, we must confidently say the British artillery did their duty well on that day. It is not a usual thing with the army to allow much credit to the artillery, let them do ever so much, but on this occasion they have deviated from the common path, and have done us the favour to say our guns were well

<sup>1</sup> For the various batteries referred to see Plate facing page 96.

pointed. We did not want their words to verify this, ocular demonstration is stronger, a more convincing proof. Heads, legs, and arms knocked off, and bodies torn to pieces are not the effect of musketry balls fired at the distance of 300 yards ! I have my reasons for saying the army are very sparing of their encomiums on the artillery. Many times officers have been heard to say on the march, "go on, go on, never wait for the artillery," but I always observed when these unsoldierlike words were pronounced, the enemy were at a considerable distance, and no sooner does the popping begin in front than the tone is altered, "Where are the guns, where are the artillery ?; halt in front and clear the road for guns !!" is then the cry. I have often remarked that the army in general look with an envious jealous eye on the artillery, from what cause I know not unless from an idea they entertain of our having more advantages and conveniences than themselves. We go through the same fatigues, often times abundantly more, we are exposed to the same dangers, sometimes greater, by their running away and leaving us to shift for ourselves, when half our men and horses are killed and wounded.\*

When artillery are engaged and their fire effectual nothing is too good for them, politeness and attention is carried to 45 degrees, and praises and plaudits ring on every side of us, but, alas the day ! when the General's letter to the Minister appears in publick, no more mention is made of the Artillery than if there were no such people in being.† These are mortifying truths, particularly to a corps which upon every occasion when employed have behaved as well, if not better in general than any corps in the King's service.

I shall now proceed with my journal, but first must mention a few matters I think not unworthy of notice, matters which make one wonder we are not prisoners in Martinique instead of being at liberty in St. Lucia. One would think in running them all up that we are the favourites of the Supreme Being, or that a few good ones are amongst us for whom the whole are preserved, or that God is highly displeased with our enemies, for that he has been our guardian, our protector, ever since we left New York there remaineth not the smallest doubt. To make you understand this preamble I must acquaint

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\* With General Burgoyne.

† General Clinton's letter of Freehold in the Jerseys.

[The above notes are Downman's. The first refers to the action fought near Saratoga on October 7th, 1777. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne in his despatch from Albany, October 20th, after detailing his operations subsequent to crossing the Hudson River on September 14th, and in camp near Saratoga, the enemy being in the neighbourhood at Stillwater, describes that portion of the fight on the 7th in which the guns were lost, in the following terms :—

"The danger to which the lines were exposed becoming at this moment of the most serious nature, orders were given to Majors-General Phillips and Reidesel to cover the retreat, while such troops as were not ready for the purpose, returned for the defence of them. The troops retreated hard pressed, but in good order. They were obliged to leave six pieces of cannon all the horses having been killed, and most of the artillerymen either killed or wounded ; the latter had behaved as usual with the utmost bravery, under Major [Griffith] Williams."

The second note refers to General Clinton's despatch dated New York, July 7th, 1778. In this he reports his sharp action with General Washington on June 28th, at Freehold Court House. No mention is made of the Artillery, though we know the brigades of Captains Williamson and Standish were among the troops chiefly engaged and which suffered heavy losses. Lieutenant Vaughan was killed.]

you of matters and things which we ourselves were ignorant of till this moment.

We sailed from New York on the 3rd of November with a fair wind and pleasant weather. On the 3rd of November also sailed from Boston the Comte d'Estaing with his whole fleet, both fleets bound to the West Indies and destined within a very few miles of each other. A remarkable interposition of Providence in our favour happened on the 17th of the same month, or thereabouts, when in or near latitude 26°. Commodore Hotham in the evening made the signal for the fleet to tack and stand to the eastward. This was done by the whole except a horse brig, which not paying attention to the Commodore, continued the course she was in and at daybreak in the morning was taken by d'Estaing's fleet. Had our Commodore been told, or by divination known that this formidable enemy was so near him, and had been desired to change or alter his course as he should think best, so as to avoid the danger, it is ten to one he had run directly into it, but as it was, being totally ignorant of the matter, he went Providentially the way that proved to be right. This I think, Master Alexander, was an almost hair-breadth escape, and our not falling in with this French Gentleman during the remainder of the passage was another instance of good fortune. Our arrival at this island in a happy moment of time; our landing instantly; our army being well posted; our fleet being even in the readiness they were; our finding ammunition on the batteries; the French cannon being so badly spiked; our repulsing the different attacks, though so very superior to us in numbers, and the very trifling loss we sustained by those attacks are matters I think that very fully evince what I have before mentioned, that we are assuredly the favourites of some good creature above. Had we been 12 hours later in our arrival, which might easily have happened; had we not landed directly—it was wonderful we did for it was just about dinner time—or had the Comte d'Estaing made his attack in a proper manner, and the instant he came to us, all had been lost.

We now continue the narrative from the diary.

*December 19th.*—We remained very quiet all last night. The French army was in the same situation they were yesterday. Their fleet is augmenting every day; there are now at anchor no less than twenty-six sail of ships of war and fifty sloops and schooners. One of our transports is taken; by some accident she drove out of our fleet. We have taken one of their vessels with a number of troops on board. The following letter from General Grant to Brigadier General Medows with General Medows' remarks was published to the troops to-day:—

"I cannot express how much I feel myself obliged to you and the troops under your command, in repulsing with so much spirited bravery so great a body of the enemy. I own it was just what I expected from you and them, and am convinced under your command they always will behave in such a manner as to do honour to you, themselves, their country, and their King, and I must beg of you to express my thanks and gratitude to them in the strongest manner."

"General Medows has the highest satisfaction in communicating so flattering a letter from the Commander-in-Chief to the troops under his command, and begs leave to mark to the officers and men his great admiration of their gallantry and good conduct in the affair of the 18th inst., he feels too much to be able to add more than that at the head of such troops he must be pleased to live and ready to die."

*December 20th.*—This morning very early we discovered to our right a body of the French seemingly going from the wood at the foot of the Morne Fortuné. We imagined they had been out during the night endeavouring to find an accessible road up to our head quarters, or to see if they could occupy the hills about the Cul de Sac where our shipping are. The force consisted of their marines and grenadiers and appeared to number about 800 men. They were sent by d'Estaing the day their army landed and had been poking about the woods ever since without being able to do anything against our posts. Last night and this whole day has passed without any popping from either side. Their army remains in the same position as before. They are very busy landing provisions, tents and other things, and are either mending the roads or are raising some kind of works on their eminences. We hear that on the 18th, Comte d'Estaing commanded the right, the Marquis de Bouillé the left, and Comte Lovendahl (who it is said was mortally wounded) the left of the French army. Their fleet is as quiet and inoffensive as lambs.

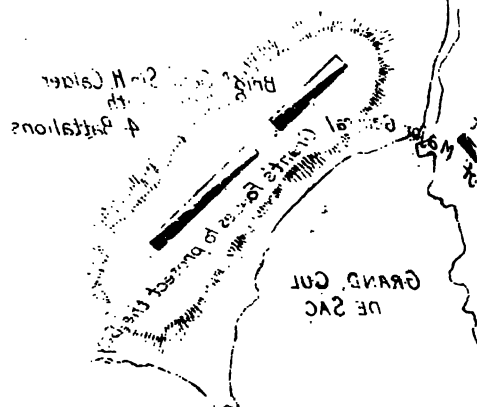
Every night and day that we have been on shore on this horrible island has been excessively windy and rainy, I never saw a part of the world a tenth so bad as this. The whole island is a jumble of ragged mountains thrown upon one another with the utmost irregularity. Our troops go through inconceivable fatigue in transporting provisions etc. from the shipping.

*December 21st.*—Everybody quiet last night. Wind and rain as usual. I have now been seven days on shore, have not had my clothes once off, and have been wet through every day and night. The French army and fleet remain as usual. They landed a small body of men in a bay to leeward, with the intention, we imagine, of possessing themselves of the hills surrounding the Cul de Sac where our shipping are.

General Medows issued the following order to day :—

"Whenever the pickets are attacked the drums to beat to arms, and the lines to be manned immediately. As soon as our gallant and generous enemy are seen to advance in great numbers, the troops are







to receive them with three huzzas, and then to be perfectly silent and obedient to their officers. Whilst they are cool by day and alert by night they have nothing to fear. If the enemy want our arms let them come and take them. During the attack some of the drums to assemble round the colours of the 5th Regiment and beat the grenadiers march."

*December 22nd.*—Quiet all last night. The enemy began yesterday to raise works on some hills in our front, and are going forward with them now. They are within reach of my guns, but I am not allowed to molest them. "It will not answer any purpose to prevent the enemy throwing up batteries and entrenchments," says our General. The *Ceres* sloop of war is taken by the French; she is now at anchor with their fleet.

*December 23rd.*—All quiet last night. The French army and fleet in the same position as before. They seem very busy carrying on their works which appear to be made entirely for defence, for they are at too great a distance to do any mischief to us.

*December 24th.*—This morning early a rebel privateer carrying 18 gun and 130 men was taken. She came by mistake in the night to our fleet, and in her fright and confusion could not get out of reach of the shot from the ships and Garstin's battery before several had struck her. She is called the *Bunkers Hill*.

About 8 a.m., the French fleet began to get under way and continued till the whole was under sail standing to the northward. Their army is also in motion, retiring with their cannon, and making works as they move, which leads us to conjecture they have either learnt something of Byron, or are about to make an attack in a different manner from what they did before. In the afternoon the French fleet, after standing off and on, came to anchor about half a mile to windward of its former place, and in a more compact manner; their small craft remain as usual, except getting a little nearer to the shore.

*December 25th.*—This is the third day without rain and the weather has been very pleasant and cool. The hill I am situated upon commands a fine prospect both of sea and land, the eye never wants entertainment. Beneath us the French army carry on their works with ease and in perfect security, for we are polite enough not to molest them though much within the reach of our cannon. Their fleet is another entertaining object, it exhibits a fine and formidable appearance, and by their different signals and manœuvres amuse our sight, and make us form a thousand conjectures about their intentions. One moment we expect them to attack, the next we conclude they are going to leave us, but cannot believe they will be such cowardly rascals. The mountainous, rugged, irregular appearance of the island forms a very wild and savage picture, and the distant shore of Martinique adds a not unpleasing background to the whole. We only want Byron's fleet to make it a valuable and highly finished piece.

All this day the greatest part of the French fleet have their main and fore top-sail yards hoisted up which I think is a convincing proof they expect an enemy, and from everything we observe amongst them, their small craft and their army, we conclude that M. d'Estaing means

to stay here till the arrival of our unfortunate hero, or to make his escape. If he has taken the former resolution, it in some measure accounts for his lamb-like behaviour with respect to our little fleet, for should any of his ships get disabled, particularly in their masts, he would be quite unfit to risk an action with such a fleet as Byron's and Barrington's united. He would not only lose (most probably) a number of his large ships, but all his small craft, and thereby expose and leave open to us all the French islands, for these small vessels are the only transports they possess in this country. Let us even suppose while their present army (which by most accounts is 8,000 or 9,000 men) remains in this island, we should be unable to conquer them, yet if we beat their fleet we command at sea, and if occasion required our quitting the place for one of more consequence we might easily do it, and by the vigour of our naval force totally prevent their return to Martinique or any other island. From the movements of the French fleet and army it is natural enough to conclude that d'Estaing is either about to act a very spirited part, or the contrary, that is, that he means to fight Byron, or to run away on the first intimation he may receive of his being in these seas. I hope with all my soul he will stick to the former.

We are informed that Byron met with a gale of wind on the coast of America, that the *Somerset* was lost on Cape Sable and the *Bedford* dismasted.

*December 26th.*—The French army remain as usual hard at work in strengthening their situation as they retire. Their fleet remained at anchor all last night, but this morning got under way and are standing off and on, their small craft as before. In the evening the fleet again came to under the shore, but more to windward than before. A very rainy day.

*December 27th.*—Rained all last night. All hands very quiet. The French fleet remained as they were last night. This morning very thick and rainy. About nine o'clock the French fleet showed a number of signals and hoisted their colours, and four of their frigates are going leeward; they returned about noon. Their large boats are on shore and ranged along the beach as if to receive troops on board. Their small vessels have got nearer to the shore than usual, and their army have been making many movements, such as denote a re-embarkation or a resolution to maintain themselves on the heights opposite their shipping, to which they have moved several of their cannon and have made new works. This afternoon the wind blew fresh. Much rain.

*December 28th.*—Quiet all last night, which was very windy with rain, this morning the same. The French fleet is in the same position. A part of their army either embarked during the night or is gone to some other quarter, as many tents are struck from the wood before us, and many of their flat bottomed boats or launches are ranged along the beach. This afternoon is very fine. The French army seem to get further from us, and it is believed they are preparing to re-embark their troops. The fires made by the French army this evening burnt

for a little time very fiercely, but as the night advanced dwindled away.

*December 29th.*—As soon as the dawn of day appeared we found our conjectures respecting the embarkation of the French army to be true, not a French soldier to be seen on the shore, and all their small craft and boats are gone from the shore to the fleet which is still at anchor. What the intention of the French can be now, we must leave a few days to determine. I am much afraid they will return from whence they came and again give Byron the slip. If they are destined to any of our islands they still leave themselves exposed to our fleet, that is, if ever that unfortunate fleet should come to this country. At eight o'clock this morning a flag came from the Governor with terms of capitulation. Some light infantry from General Medows's post went and took ground on the hills in our front where the French were yesterday. At ten o'clock some of the enemy's ships of war got under way—also their small craft and are turning to windward under the lee of the island and others are standing over towards Martinique. About 12 o'clock the whole fleet were under sail and shaped their course for Martinique.—O Byron thou unfortunate dog! This is the third time thou hast lost a glorious, golden opportunity of immortalising thy name. They are gone, the birds are flown, therefore go and hang thyself; an unlucky planet reigned when thou wert born! Thou never will have in thy power such another moment to serve thy King and country.

The dastardly d'Estaing before he took his leave, told the Governor, M. de Micoud, he would wait in the harbour six hours after the troops were embarked, and told him to send to us directly and get the best terms he could. The Governor took his advice, for d'Estaing's boats had scarcely left the shore when the flag came in. We are well informed that the French did not lose less than 2,000 men during their stay on shore, and a very great number of them by cannon shot. The battery I had the honour to command on the attack of the 18th, did great execution. I received the thanks of Generals Grant and Medows, the latter called me his best ally. I had a fine situation for galling the French army as they marched to the attack in columns, I had them then charmingly, and while forming, and after being formed, and also in their retreat. I kept up as heavy a fire as I could on their flank which was presented to me the greatest part of the action. My shot in this situation swept them off by the dozens at a time, and Frenchmen's heads and legs were as plenty and much cheaper than sheep's heads and trotters in Scotland. Three of my guns were cracked during the action, one of them is rendered totally unservicable, the others will do at a pinch.

It is now evening. That poltroon d'Estaing and his fleet are totally out of sight, they are all safe in the harbour of Fort Royal. What a despicable figure has he made of himself! He attacked us the day after our arrival before we were prepared to receive him and reckoning the weight of his guns and ours, he had more than double our ships, and many of our transports were not got quite out of the way when the action began. Twice the same day did each ship of this formid-

able fleet (to look at) thunder their broadsides on our brave little squadron, but what was the result of this seemingly destructive fire? Not more than three or four men killed and ten or twelve wounded, and no damage done to any of our ships. It is astonishing, but it is no less a fact. The loss of the French we are quite ignorant about, we only know that several of their ships received damage in their rigging and that d'Estaing's nephew was killed by a shot from one of our batteries. The battery commanded by Lieutenant Garstin did much service to the English fleet by keeping the French at a distance; his guns damaged several of their ships. Admiral Barrington and General Grant gave him thanks for his behaviour that day.

*December 30th.*—The capitulation was signed.

*December 31st.*—An officer and thirty-five poor looking wretches of French soldiers marched into the town with a drum and laid down their arms at the bridge.

*January 1st, 1779.*—A ship of ours went with French officers and men to Martinique to be exchanged. From this day to the 5th nothing happened. Our fleet lay as usual, and our army are busy in making and mending roads. The French people are getting into the town and opening a few miserable shops. The situation of the town is horrible, it is in a bottom and almost surrounded with stagnant water. The inhabitants look more like bodies just crept from the grave to frighten one, than living creatures. The mulattoes and negroes are much better looking folks. The island produces the same articles as others of the West Indies, but the coffee and chocolate seem to be the principal care of the planters near this place. There are good fish to be caught with the hook and line in deep water along the shore, and up the harbours are abundance of mullet, but the rockiness of the coast prevents their being caught with nets except in a very few places.

On Wednesday, January 6th, about seven o'clock in the morning, we saw with great joy several large ships coming round the northward of the island towards us. We soon discovered them to be friends, and that they were no other than the fleet of our long lost, unfortunate Byron, consisting of nine line of battle ships only (including his own the *Princess Royal* of 90); several frigates and small craft were with him. He did not stop at Barbadoes, and had been only three weeks from Rhode Island.

When I give myself time to think seriously of the great force the French have in these seas, particularly the armament we have driven away, and the many hair-breadth escapes our little army and navy have had, I cannot help exclaiming, we are a most fortunate people! The Comte d'Estaing with his tremendous fleet sailed from Boston the same day, or near it, that we sailed from Sandy Hook. The narrow escape we had on the passage almost assures us we are the favourites of the Supreme Being, and that the cause we are fighting for is just and good.

We are well informed that on the night of the 17th November when we were in latitude 26°, or thereabouts, the Comte d'Estaing was within a very few leagues of us. Our Commodore made a tack that

night and stood to the N.E. One of our vessels, a brig with horses, did not attend to the signals, and kept her course, finding herself at daybreak in the midst of d'Estaing's fleet. This was a providential escape, and our not falling in with him during the whole passage was equally fortunate. The two commanders had not the smallest idea of one another's situation. Our arrival here at a happy moment of time, for had we been twelve hours later all had been lost—our landing instantly, our being well posted, our fleet being even in the readiness they were, our finding the French cannon so badly spiked and having them ready to make use of just by the time the French arrived, our finding ammunition, our repulsing their different attacks though so very superior in number to us, and the very trifling loss we sustained in those attacks are I think circumstances that very sufficiently evince we have a good angel attending upon us.

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### CHAPTER III.

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#### *The manœuvres of the English and French fleets.*

*January 7th, 1779.*—Admiral Byron on the passage fell down and broke two of his ribs and is not yet recovered enough to venture on shore. His fleet is very busy watering and preparing to pay a visit to M. d'Estaing.

*January 9th.*—A frigate, the *Weasel*, sailed for England with despatches. I sent Lord Townshend<sup>1</sup> a sketch of the different attacks of the enemy on our fleet and army. Wrote also to Mrs. D.

*January 11th.*—The ship that went to Martinique with French prisoners returned to-day, bringing the men and officers taken in the *Ceres*. In the transport also came Captain Downing and the light infantry men with him, and two artillerymen taken in one of our horse sloops. We learn by this ship that the people of Martinique are very much dissatisfied with d'Estaing and the officers of his fleet, so that they will hardly suffer them to walk the streets.

*January 12th.*—About noon we saw a fleet standing out of Fort Royal harbour; it directed its course towards us. A frigate of ours went out about 2 o'clock, and after a little while made the signal for an enemy. We could discover about sixteen sail,—twelve large and four small ships. Everyone of us is in high spirits; we flatter ourselves that d'Estaing is at length determined to attack the British fleet.

*January 13th.*—At 3 o'clock this morning Admiral Byron made signals to unmoor ships, at daylight they got under way, and at 7 the whole, consisting of thirteen line of battle, one fifty, and three frigates

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<sup>1</sup> Master-General of the Ordnance.

were under sail lying off the Careenage with their heads towards the French fleet, which we saw plainly turning to windward not far distant from their own port. At 8 o'clock, Byron made the signal for his fleet to form the line of battle which was instantly done. They then set their top-gallant sails and stood away for Morne aux Bœufs in beautiful order. The French fleet, when it saw ours, tacked and stood for the shore. At 11 the fleets seemed to be about seven miles apart, both on the starboard tack, the English to windward. About 12 our fleet was crowding sail, but in excellent order and was close under the Martinique shore.

Now Byron, you have them in your view, and if you cannot get them within your reach you are truly unfortunate. We are under no fear or apprehension of anything but of d'Estaing running away. About 1 o'clock we could plainly discover the intrepid d'Estaing pushing back to Fort Royal harbour, and Byron, to all appearances, no great distance from him. In the evening, about dark, our Byron returned from the chase of d'Estaing without being able to do anything against him. The Frenchman was extremely careful not to get any of his master's ships hurt, and to secure them perfectly, he ran up the harbour of Fort Royal, and Byron came back and anchored his fleet in the bay where the French fleet lay when they did us the honour of a visit. Just after Byron went to meet Monsieur, a large ship with French colours approached to leeward. The *Bunker's Hill*, which is now put into commission, gave chase and in a little time was alongside the Frenchman, who struck his colours the very instant he saw the English flag.

*January 14th.*—The ship taken yesterday proved to be an English one from Halifax taken by the rebels within sight of Barbadoes.

This morning Admiral Byron with seven or eight ships weighed anchor and stood to windward; in a few hours they came to, some in and some opposite the Gros Ilet harbour.

Our soldiers begin to fall sick; already there are a great many dead and ill. Captain Chetwynd, 46th and Captain Cadogan, 49th, died after a very short illness. It is feared, and not without good reason, that if we remain much longer on this horrid island, one-third of our troops will be unfit for service.

*January 15th.*—Admiral Byron was joined by the *Fame*, one of his own fleet, she is disabled in her masts. Several frigates have also arrived.

A dreadful day with wind and rain, both of which continued all night with great violence.

*January 16th.*—Admiral Byron has got all his fleet into the Gros Ilet bay. It seems to be more under cover of the wind than the Grand Cul de Sac, and this great advantage attends it that it is seven or eight miles nearer to Martinique and to windward withal. From the hill I am on I can see ships going in or out of Fort Royal harbour at least an hour before the men-of-war can from their top-gallant mast-head. Wind and rain most of this day.

*January 17th.*—Lieutenants Vallancy and Stotesbury, 55th Regi-



ment, are both dead of the fever of this country, and many others are not expected to live.

Our fleet and army are both lying, idle, for why or wherefore is best known to the man of Morne Fortuné<sup>1</sup> and the unfortunate man.<sup>1</sup> I am told the fleet is sickly, both officers and men; that the army is so I know for certain and dread the consequences of remaining here three or four months longer, which we are told will be the case, or until we hear from England.

Melancholy prospect! Death seems to stare us in the face whichever way we turn. Why do we stay here, now we command the sea? Why not move to some other island? Why not to Dominique? It were better to die attempting to retake that place than to perish here and do no good. We are too late they say, we should have set off the moment Byron arrived. We have given the French time to recover the beating they got here and to reinforce and fortify that island, so that we are not able to attack it with any prospect of success. It were better we were doing anything than to remain here inactive. Men's minds as well as their bodies should be employed; when that is the case you need not be apprehensive of sickness. Our men are employed, but at what sort of work? Why, in mending roads up and down hills almost perpendicular, when perhaps it is raining the whole time they are at work, and, what will appear very extraordinary, they are ordered to work till 12 o'clock and to go on again at one! This is not only dreadful on account of the heat of the sun, but the poor wretches have scarce a moment to themselves after eating their morsel of pork.

*January 19th and 20th.*—Rain and wind. Admiral Byron's cruisers have re-taken several vessels taken by two rebel privateers that keep in the latitude of Barbadoes to intercept the English ships.

*January 21st.*—Rain as usual.

*January 22nd.*—More rain. The devil take this country!

*January 23rd.*—Rain *encore*. Admiral Byron has sent the *Bunker's Hill* (now the *Surprise*) with two frigates to look for the rebel privateers, who know nothing of her being taken. She is to hoist rebel colours, and the frigates French, and as they know the *Bunker's Hill* and expect to fall in with her every day, as they told the mate of one of the ships they took, it is probable the device will answer.

*January 24th.*—Very severe wind and rain all night. This morning a fleet of 13 sail appeared round the north end of the island, they lay to for some time near Byron, and then made sail as if for Jamaica.

I received a letter from Bobby Day from Falmouth, dated October 16th. No war. Strange doings!

*January 25th.*—Rain and wind almost the whole day, and in the night both were excessively severe. In no small danger of being carried away, tent and all, down a precipice of 400 or 500 feet. Taken ill this afternoon, a violent commotion and desperate battle internally, and a fever during some part of the night.

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<sup>1</sup> General Grant and Admiral Byron.

*January 26th.*—Wind very high, but no rain. I am a little better, but find myself very weak from the effects of my illness of yesterday.

Violent rain and wind has continued from the 26th to this day, February 2nd, which was brilliantly fine though not without rain.

This morning four or five French men-of-war sailed out of Fort Royal harbour and stood up along the island to windward. Admiral Byron sent some of his ships after them. The Frenchmen put about and scampered into port again. We are informed that the *Weasel*, sloop of war, that was ordered home with despatches, is taken by a French frigate and carried into Guadeloupe. This day arrived from England the *Pomona* frigate, she left England on January 5th and parted from the West Indian fleet on the passage.

*February 3rd.*—This morning 500 men from the different regiments embarked on board Byron's fleet. Sickness on board is the cause of this manoeuvre. From this day to the 13th perpetual rain and wind.

*February 13th.*—This day arrived Commodore Rowley with seven line of battle-ships. He came to anchor with Admiral Byron off the Gros Ilot. It is now five weeks since Byron arrived. It is not improbable but he will remain five weeks longer in harbour. We are told that many of the enemy's ships have lately got into Fort Royal and St. Pierre, Martinique. Very possible, for though we are now again master of the sea, and have ships enough to draw a line round that and the other French islands, yet we do nothing but lie at anchor in our own harbour!

Commodore Rowley sailed from England with the West India fleet.

From the 13th to 23rd February, every day and night an abundance of rain and wind.

Commodore Rowley, who has been out with seven ships cruising two or three days, returned this morning.

A fleet of French ships has got into Martinique, to the shame of Byron, who feared d'Estaing would make a sally upon him in his Gros Ilot; notwithstanding he has 16 or 17 ships of the line, he sent in a great hurry to recall Rowley.

*February 24th.*—It is a shameful circumstance that an English admiral with 24 line of battle-ships and a number of frigates should suffer five or six French men-of-war to get into a harbour that lies within our sight. We are just now informed of eight more French men-of-war getting into Martinique last night, which, if true, will make M. d'Estaing's fleet 25 sail of the line and 17 frigates. All the transports, except 20, sailed for England. This number will more than contain us if we remain much longer in this country.

Rain all the morning.

*February 25th.*—Rain all the morning, last night and this whole day. Struck my tent and retired to a hut which I have just finished. From this time to March 2nd things have been much as they were, that is to say, a great deal of wind and rain. Byron and his fleet are just where they were, immovable, except now and then a ship or two sent out for an hour.

*March 3rd, 1779.*—To-day the fourteenth officer, since our landing, was buried. But little rain to-day.

*March 4th.*—A fine day. In the evening, a quarter before eight o'clock, a shock of an earthquake was felt, which continued about four seconds. Some thunder and lightning in the afternoon.

*March 5th.*—A fine day. Thunder at a distance. Fourteen sail of Byron's fleet at length went and shewed themselves before Fort Royal harbour and returned in the evening, d'Estaing not choosing to come out.

Captain Packenham, of 27th regiment, died this day. A soldier of the 28th regiment was attacked and bit by a very large snake, and died in 24 hours afterwards. He described the snake as being as thick as his thigh and its mouth so large that it grasped the calf of his leg. He was only half an hour before he got assistance, yet a mortification came on quite up to his groin. Had he got immediate application, probably his life might have been saved.

*March 6th.*—Our fleet did not come to anchor on its return, but cruised off and on the Gros Ilot, and in the night returned close under Martinique and continued about there the whole day.

*March 7th.*—The rain not so abundant as usual, the weather is also much hotter. Our fleet continued cruising sometimes to windward of Martinique, and at others before the harbour where d'Estaing lies with his fleet.

*March 10th.*—An exceeding hot day, the clouds and fog are close upon the earth, and not a breath of wind. A night of incessant rain, thunder and lightning. Several cannon were fired at sea, or at the Gros Ilot.

*March 11th.*—A fine morning. Two or three more ships went out last night from the Gros Ilot and joined the cruising fleet, they are not to be seen this morning, being to windward.

*March 12th.*—A fine day. The fleet cruising off Fort Royal harbour.

The weather to this day, the 16th, has been variable, generally rain in the 24 hours. Our ships of war that were cruising off and on, all came in this day and some others went out. This morning very early we discovered one of our ships making signals for an enemy and standing from Martinique. Our whole fleet were all out of the Gros Ilot and under way by about 9 o'clock. We now can perceive the French fleet off the harbour of Fort Royal, the weather is hazy and we cannot distinguish their number. Our fleet are all standing with moderate sail directly over towards them; they weighed in three divisions. Our fleet lay to for a long time when the French fleet was near them. Strange! D'Estaing ran into his harbour again, and our d'Estaing came away directly.

*March 21st.*—Our fleet is only now come to anchor from driving d'Estaing into port again, the currents drove them much to leeward.

I was attacked with a fever, but thank God was quite recovered in five or six days.

The *Venus*, frigate, has taken the *General Trumble*, a rebel ship of 20 guns, and brought her into Gros Ilot.

*April 2nd, 1779.*—A sloop was taken to-day within our sight by a schooner of ours, we are told she is a rebel vessel from Charlestown loaded with rice and flour, a good prize at this time.

Our amazing fleet of men-of-war are still lying in the Gros Ilot, and what Admiral Byron can be dreaming about is a matter of much astonishment to everybody.

*April 5th.*—We learn that Colonel Campbell, of the 71st regiment, is in possession of all Georgia and has killed a great many of the rebels.

We are informed for a certainty that the last time d'Estaing passed out of his harbour, he was induced thereto by being told by a person who called himself a relation of Dr. Franklin, that the English fleet then at St. Lucia was in a very sickly condition and unable to man the few ships that were there, and that the remainder of the fleet was out on a cruise. D'Estaing, being assured by the relative of his old friend and ally Franklin that this was actually true, treated his informant with much respect and attention, embarked 4,000 men aboard his fleet and was certainly about to pay us another visit that day. The Comte might have been taken in had not Byron, Byron-like, always wrong, sallied out with all his fleet against the enemy's 14. As matters were, I am credibly informed that Byron that day could have taken or brought to action seven of the enemy's fleet. 'Tis strange! 'Tis passing strange! 'Tis wonderful! You won't believe me perhaps when I tell you, that either French or Rebel privateers have taken an English vessel or two within a few miles of us (near the Soufrière). Not long ago I was down at this Soufrière, a place well worth seeing, about 12 miles from the Careenage. I then saw a vessel taken that only left us an hour before. You would naturally conclude from these facts that we had no vessels to cruise, but, take my word for it, I have before my eyes at this moment about 30 sail of ships of war.

A good story of Monsieur Byron.

He went out the other day after d'Estaing. While cruising he fired a gun to call attention to the signal flying at the same time on his ship, and summoned the next in command, Admiral Parker, to come on board. On his arrival Byron asked what he was about that he did not form the line according to the signal.

Admiral Parker said he had seen no such signal.

"No such signal!" replies the Admiral—"Look aloft and see the signal."

Says Parker, "No sir, I have no such signal in my instructions."

Admiral Byron cast his eyes aloft, lo! and behold! it was a dream, or something like one, for his signal officer had rendered the signal unintelligible by hoisting in mistake a Dutch Jack instead of an English one!

The French fleet formed line to leeward under the shore. The English fleet made a bow to them and came back, and now for fear of

making any more mistakes, are determined to remain in port.

*April 19th.*—Our admirable Admiral is informed that within this week upwards of 60 vessels, escorted from St. Eustatius by three men-of-war and ten frigates, have got safe into Martinique and Guadeloupe with provisions for d'Estaing's fleet and army which were in great distress till their arrival. Had the English admiral done his duty this fleet must have become the prize of our fleet. He has also learnt that several French ships are off Nevis and St. Kitts, the inhabitants of which islands are watching night and day expecting an invasion.

*April 21st.*—This day five of Mr. Byron's fleet got under way and stood over to Martinique and returned to anchor in the evening.

*April 22nd.*—The packet arrived from England, but no letters for the army, except a very few.

*April 26th.*—This morning four frigates came into the fleet from the windward, and in the evening several other ships. They are the Cork fleet with provisions.

*April 27th.*—Four of our men-of-war went last night from the Gros Ilet, and this morning one sees them off Fort Royal harbour. I begin to suspect d'Estaing has again given Byron—a Bye-run.

This morning Admiral Byron has had the flag flying for all boats and everyone belonging to the ships to be on board. Eight sail of large ships hove in sight to windward and kept down under the shore of Martinique, standing to Fort Royal. Afternoon.—The four ships above mentioned prove to be French, now joined by five more and are cruising off and on their harbour. The eight ships that are to windward are English, they went out last night and are now returning into harbour, the French ships are still cruising about. Admiral Byron is lying as still as a mouse. I wonder at his philosophy; to command such a powerful fleet and yet suffer d'Estaing to go in and out of his port as he pleases, 'tis scandalous to say the best of such behaviour.

*April 29th.*—We are informed this day that several men-of-war, five of which are absolutely French, are lying off St. Kitts and Nevis. Some are of opinion that Nevis is at present, or will be in a short time, in the possession of the French, or else destroyed and pillaged.

*April 30th.*—To-day there appears by the signals, etc., amongst our fleet in Gros Ilet, an intention of moving soon. This evening a frigate came to the Careenage and received from the different transports a number of volunteers, who went with loud huzzas and in the greatest spirits on board those ships of Byron's that wanted men.

*May 1st, 1779.*—At length the fleet of Byron is roused from its slumbers. At 8 o'clock a.m. the whole were under way and standing over towards Fort Royal harbour in order of battle, and about one o'clock they were off the mouth of the harbour. In the night some people heard cannon and saw flashes of fire at a great distance; imagination sees and hears many things that never happen.

*May 3rd.*—All day yesterday an abundance of rain and continued through the night. This morning the wind blows from the S.W., a very uncommon circumstance; this is the second time it has happened since our being here. Nothing transpired yet of what Byron has done.

The *Boyne* and *Medway* of the line, the *Venus*, *Diamond* and *Aurora* frigates, with two or three prizes and some store ships, being all that are left here by Byron, all left the Gros Ilet and came into the Careenage as a much safer place in case M. d'Estaing should pay us another visit in the absence of our mighty Mingo. The *Centurion* of 50 guns came in from the windward this afternoon.

*May 4th.*—This morning early we saw to our astonishment six French ships of the line, two frigates and a sloop at very little distance from the Gros Ilet. The sloop looked into the Cul de Sac and Careenage, the frigates into the Gros Ilet, they then stood from the shore to the large ships, upon which the whole of them immediately wore round, and about 8.30 a.m. stood towards Martinique in a regular line. The atmosphere very thick so we can see but a little distance from the shore. The *Boyne*, *Medway* and *Centurion* are drawn in a line across the entrance of the Careenage, behind are the batteries; the frigates and all other vessels are warped up much within the large ships. Can the Devil, or anybody account for the wonderful and extraordinary management of this mingo of the great canoes? He left us three or four days ago with twenty sail of the line and his back is no sooner seen than we are again blocked by the French.

*May 10th.*—This morning early we saw a large fleet off the north end of Martinique beating up. In the evening they were not far from the Gros Ilet. 'Tis our friend Byron come back again, he has shewn himself to our islands to leeward—he looked into Martinique, saw there 17 sail of the line and a number of frigates, also into Dominique and Guadeloupe where many vessels might have been taken without loss, but it is beneath the dignity of a vice-admiral of the Blue to attack any thing less than a ship of war!

*May 11th.*—This morning his whole fleet anchored in the Gros Ilet. The ships that were in the Careenage are ordered to join him directly. He is afraid d'Estaing will come out and eat him at a mouthful.

*May 18th.*—This afternoon the frigate *Porcupine* from England arrived. By her we learn that the *Pearl* got to England on March 24th with the general's despatches on taking this island. The frigate sailed on the 27th, she has brought money for the army, but no letters to relieve us from an anxious suspense. No letters in answer to the *Pearl*.

*May 19th.*—Very early this morning we were roused by cannon firing from our fleet at Gros Ilet. Commodores Rowley and Graves are made Rear-admirals of the Blue, and Rear-admiral Barrington vice of the Blue.

*May 24th.*—Five hundred of our recovering soldiers with their officers went on board Byron's fleet. This afternoon a small ship entered the Gros Ilet from windward, supposed to be the packet or ship with despatches in answer to General Grant's letters by the *Pearl*. She saluted the Admiral with 13 guns. About 12 o'clock at night the mail and General Grant's despatches arrived at head-quarters from Gros Ilet.

*May 25th.*—This morning at day-break signals were made in the fleet at Gros Ilet for all boats, etc. to be on board and the top-sails loosed; at the same time a frigate came down to the Careenage to re-

ceive volunteer sailors from the transports, which she did and returned immediately. About 3 in the afternoon, the whole fleet got under sail and stood to windward.

*May 26th.*—This evening the packet and several other ships sailed from the Careenage bound for England. Orders were given out by General Grant for the three following regiments to be left on St. Lucia :—27th, 35th and 49th, under command of Sir H. Calder. The 5th and 46th to go on board Byron's fleet as marines, and the 4th, 15th, 28th, 40th and 55th to go to America under General Prescott. Generals Grant and Meadows go for England. Artillery orders are for Captain Downman with four subalterns and 80 men, with surgeon, clerks of stores, etc., etc., to remain in St. Lucia. Captains Williamson and Standish with the remainder of Artillery to go to America.

*June 1st, 1779.*—It began to rain most violently with very high wind and continued for four days, except some short intermissions.

*June 4th.*—A French prize brig came into the Careenage this morning taken by Byron's fleet. A cutter from France with despatches is also taken, by which Byron is informed of a reinforcement of seven ships and 5,000 men being on their passage for d'Estaing under M. de la Motte Piquet.

*June 6th.*—This morning, early, a fleet of 26 sail appeared in sight to windward which we suppose to be Byron; soon after the whole of them sailed close along shore, passed the Careenage and went away to leeward with a press of sail, the *Princess Royal* the headmost ship.

*June 7th.*—A fine morning. We can perceive a fleet of about 50 sail to leeward at a great distance. We imagine it is Byron convoying the Granada fleet out of danger from Martinique: we also observe four French men-of-war off Fort Royal harbour which have taken a look at the fleet and are now going into port again.

*June 8th.*—This morning four French men-of-war came from Martinique, looked into the Gros Ilot and Careenage under English colours, then wore round and stood away. They did not come within cannon shot of us.

*June 10th.*—Early this morning we discovered eleven or twelve sail of French vessels standing from Fort Royal towards us; five of them were men-of-war. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon two of them after standing in almost close to the Gros Ilot and into the Choc bay came down opposite the Careenage, but at not less distance than a mile or more from the rock battery, from which I fired a shot at a great elevation which fell on the further side. They immediately hoisted English colours and stood to windward, and in the morning after lying off the Gros Ilot returned to their shore. We were apprehensive they meant to take off Mr. Byron's 800 sick sailors and marines lying at the Gros Ilot, with nothing to protect them but two 6-prs. lately sent from the Careenage. Mr Byron has gone, the Devil and the French know where, for no sooner is he away than we are braved by them and any

vessel coming to us is liable to be taken, for he has not left us a single sloop of war. If his fleet does anything of the smallest consequence while he commands it, I'll eat one of his 74 gun ships.

*June 11th.*—Four or five of the French ships came and looked at us again to-day.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

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*The French capture the Islands of St. Vincent and the Grenadines.  
Manœuvres of, and actions between, the English and French fleets.*

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*June 19th, 1779.*—We are just informed that the French have landed some troops under cover of three frigates in the Isle of St. Vincent. Governor Morris has written to General Grant for some assistance, but how the devil is assistance to get to him when Byron has not left us even an armed boat? When the Admiral returns he may get succour but not before, and then most likely it will be too late to save the island, for if the French have landed but a very small number of men, yet assisted by the Caribbees, whom I am told amount to 1,100 men and are armed and supplied with ammunition by the French, it will not be an easy matter for us to take it.

*June 22nd.*—This morning a French frigate passed us in going from Martinique to St. Vincent, and on the 23rd, early in the morning, we saw the same vessel returning towards Martinique. We now begin to fear not only for St. Vincent but the Grenadines also. We cannot learn anything of M. Byron, only that he is conveying the West Indian fleet to the latitude 24° north, so that d'Estaing can have nothing to fear, for this week or ten days, in which time, if he plays his part with spirit and vigour, he will cut out an entertainment for our army and navy.

*June 24th.*—We are now informed for a certainty that St. Vincent is



taken, the rascality of the Governor and a Colonel Etherington having accomplished what the French when they landed had not the least thought of. They landed not 250 men, irregulars, ragamuffins, anything, from three small ships and remarkably enough all English, the *Lively*, the *Weasel* and a Bristol-man, their only intention we learn was to spirit up the Caribbees against the English, and on their landing, about 400 of these came down from their woods, but almost immediately returned, being dissatisfied at something or other. The enemy were scarcely on shore when the above poltroon of a scandalous Colonel, though commanding 370 English soldiers, sent to the Frenchman to know what terms he would grant. A question so unexpected surprised the French exceedingly, but as the island seemed determined to surrender, they allowed our pusillanimous Governor and Colonel most things they demanded, except some matter relating to the Caribbees.

*July 1st, 1779.*—As Byron came in sight this morning to the north, 14 sail of French ships were in sight to leeward. He was told of them, he saw them, yet never went after them; astonishingly strange! Byron is at length come back, he hove in sight early in the morning to windward, and soon after the whole fleet came to anchor, some in the Gros llot, and some in the Choc bay. This has been a most dismal day, incessant rain, violent gusts of wind, and loud claps of thunder. In the afternoon all the men-of-war came and anchored opposite the Careenage. A French fleet of 15 or 16 sail were also in sight to leeward. Byron never stirred an inch after them.

The army, except the three regiments and artillery ordered to stay, have orders to embark immediately, the whole are in a bustle and confusion.

*July 2nd.*—Army, baggage, horses, asses, goats, women and children embarking, all bustle, all noise. St. Vincent must be re-taken.

*July 3rd.*—The fleet are under way and going towards the island; good luck go with them. D'Estaing they say is joined by six ships of the line, eight frigates, and 6,000 or 7,000 men—poor old England! I wish Byron well over the bridge. I this day took possession of my quarters on the Morne and commenced Commandant.

*July 4th.*—Getting stores, &c., from the Careenage to the Morne. Taken ill with fever and violent pains in breast and bowels.

*July 5th.*—We are in a great bustle on the hill, and are not without our doubts of d'Estaing paying us a visit. Getting our stores from the town as fast as possible.

*July 6th.*—We are told our fleet have got a thrashing, and that d'Estaing has gone to the Grenadines—very fine indeed! Vile Byron! Unfortunate John Bull!

*July 7th.*—Brought the two 5½-inch howitzers from town to the Morne this morning with 52 negroes and our own men. Byron's last trip of five or six weeks is the cause of the loss of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and the defeat of his own fleet, because it was in his own power had he acted right to prevent d'Estaing being joined by M. de la Motte Piquet; had he remained to windward of Martinique

the islands could not have been lost, and he might have interrupted the French re-inforcement. In all that long cruise he took not a single vessel, nor did he even see the West Indian fleet after they left St. Kitts, where he lay eight days inactive with his whole fleet, though he went with an intention to escort them to a certain latitude.

*July 10th.*—We are informed this morning by a sloop that Admiral Byron is beaten, and that the Grenadines are taken. The master says he saw the action and that they were engaged six hours. This is the direful consequence of Mr. Byron's last trip. He has lost St. Vincent, the Grenadines and perhaps many of the transports. The French fleet, considerably larger than his (as they were just joined by the 14 above mentioned) were drawn up in line of battle near the Grenadines.

*July 17th.*—A fleet of very large ships, upwards of 30, passed this day to leeward towards Martinique. We are certain it is the French fleet. Who knows what is become of ours—we have heard nothing from them, but by French and others we are assured they have been beaten by d'Estaing. Of course they are dispersed and gone nobody knows whither. We are in daily expectation of a visit from Martinique and are making every preparation in our power to receive the French.

*July 26th.*—A French gazette from Martinique, mentions the takings of the Grenadines the — instant, with the loss of about 100 men killed and wounded, also the attack of the British fleet on the French wherein they claim the victory, but at the cost of 1,000 men killed and wounded. We are told only eight of the British ships were engaged, the French having 24 in the action. Admiral Barrington behaved gallantly and is wounded. We cannot hear a syllable of news of our fleet, suppose they have gone to Antigua.

*August 5th, 1779.*—The *Maidstone* frigate and the *Surprise* sloop of war arrived this morning; they left St. Kitts on Saturday last and bring us the following information. That part of our fleet has been rather roughly handled by the French one, owing to that part bearing the chief of the fire from the whole French fleet. Our fleet did not get into action all together, as it was necessary to protect our transports. The enemy notwithstanding their superiority (for they had 26 or 27 sail of the line and a vast number of frigates), gave way when our ships attacked them, but they afterwards made a double as if to get at our transports. This manœuvre obliged Byron to alter his situation; in doing this and protecting his transports his force was much lessened, and some confusion or mistakes seem to have followed. Those of our ships that were hotly engaged were not supported and two or three of them suffered a great deal. The French fleet re-fitted at the Grenadines, and our fleet, except the *Lion* which is missing, went to St. Kitts. The whole French fleet, while ours was lying at anchor at St. Kitts, bore down upon them until within half a cannon shot, then hauled their wind and went away and have not since been seen. Perhaps they are gone to Jamaica in conjunction with the Spaniards perhaps they are gone to some other of our islands. Their intention was to have taken St. Kitts if Byron had not been there; they have

7,000 troops on board their fleet. The English fleet has been joined by the *Vengeance* of 74, two ships of 50 guns, a frigate or two, and two bomb ketches. The regiments that went from here are divided between St. Kitts and Antigua. The Artillery and stores from all our ships are landed at St. Kitts and will be dispersed for the protection of those islands.

Lord Macartney, governor of the Grenadines behaved exceedingly well; he is sent a prisoner to France.

Admiral Barrington went on July 15th to England in the *Ariadne*, some say in disgust, others say on extraordinary business. The whole business is extraordinary. Faults there are, and not a few. Who is right, or who has done amiss may soon be discovered, I wish some of their caputs may not be in danger.

A transport, the *Savile* with Colonel Ogilvie and 150 men of the 4th regiment is taken, which is the only one of our transports that is missing. General Grant is gone to England to give an account of his stewardship.

*August 20th.*—Byron and his fleet have arrived at Barbadoes. d'Estaing is gone, but no one here knows whither. Byron is gone to England.

*September 1st, 1779.*—The troops are exceedingly sickly and die away fast. Since General Grant went away, we have lost in all Lieut. Walker and six of the artillery, and upwards of 30 are sick. Since the first part of the army landed on the island (?) officers and rank and file are dead, and a vast number of women and children. The Comte d'Estaing, we are informed, is gone to America. Our fleet are cruising somewhere or other. Admiral Parker has taken 14 St. Domingomen. The *Sphinx*, with the bomb and tender sailed from Barbadoes; a French frigate left Martinique the same day, and in a few days afterwards we were told the *Sphinx* and tender were taken and carried into Martinique. This is the second time poor Garstin has lost all his baggage.

*October 17th, 1779.*—I was taken exceedingly ill, and in a few days was given over, however, I disappointed the doctors, and recovered just when they thought me going and boards were asked about for my coffin.

*November 21st.*—Just able to get on a horse.

Extremely busy on the hill in finishing our redoubts and getting everything ready for an attack which we have expected for some time. The Marquis de Bouillé, Governor of Martinique did certainly collect all the troops he could with an intention to pay us a visit, but something prevented him.

*November 28th.*—Five men-of-war and a frigate of Admiral Parker's fleet came to anchor in Choc Bay to wood and water. We are informed that Comte d'Estaing has been beaten off from Charlestown, with considerable loss of men, and himself wounded in two places, but that his fleet had taken or destroyed four of our ships.

*December 4th.*—Admiral Parker and the remainder of his fleet came here and anchored in the Gros Ilot. We are told d'Estaing's fleet has

got into Martinique, although ours has been on the look out for him for some time, but as usual cruising in the wrong place.

*December 17th.*—This morning a fleet of 20 or 30 sail appeared in sight to windward of Martinique. We fired a gun from our hill and hoisted the colour up and down 30 times to let our fleet know of it, which directly afterwards made signal for all boats to be put under way. The fleet above mentioned is a French one and is now going close along the Martinique shore to get into Fort Royal. Our fleet of 18 sail is crowding across to intercept them. At about one o'clock the headmost of ours fired several shot at one of the French ships, but it being hazy, we cannot distinguish objects clearly. At about half past one several of our ships seemed to be amongst the French and fired a good deal and from what we can discern at the distance, several of the French ships must be taken. If our fleet had been out one hour sooner the whole of them probably would have fallen into our hands. In the evening two ships were seen on fire on the shore of Martinique, which burnt very fiercely the greatest part of the night.

*December 19th.*—A very fine clear morning, we can see our fleet at and near the entrance of Fort Royal harbour. Their number is augmented to 25 or 26 sail, so that they have taken several prizes. This morning two more ships were set on fire on the shore of Martinique. The weather very fine and clear all day. Two prizes came to anchor in the Careenage and several others with two men-of-war went to the Gros Ilet. The remainder of our fleet are near Fort Royal harbour.

*December 20th.*—Very fine and calm morning. Our fleet are going to windward except two or three ships that are attending the prizes. We cannot yet learn what number have been taken or destroyed. One of the men-of-war at the Gros Ilet, the *Conqueror*, fired 45 half-minute guns this morning on the death of her Captain, Griffiths, who was killed on the 18th, when he was in Fort Royal harbour. His ship was considerably the headmost of our fleet and made a frigate and seven ships strike to him. Three French men-of-war went down the harbour, seeing him alone, and began a heavy fire upon him, but at a great distance, which he returned and continued the engagement with them all for near two hours before any of the other ships got to his assistance. The shot that took Griffiths killed also three other men which were our total loss—very unfortunate—he was a brave officer. Nine ships of the French are taken and five burnt. A French 20 gun ship-of-war is among the number, and a frigate did strike to the *Conqueror*, but when the French men-of-war engaged the latter, the frigate and some others got up the harbour away from her.

*December 21st.*—The prizes are all at anchor in the Gros Ilet. A division of our fleet of 14 ships under Admiral Rowley are cruising to windward, and another to leeward, under Commodore Collingwood. Admiral Parker with the others in the Gros Ilet are going to anchor. This day remarkably fine and very hot. About half past three this afternoon I saluted the Admiral with 13 guns just as he came to anchor. He did not return it till the next morning at sunrise, the reason of this

delay being that he did not hear our guns, as he was distant 10 miles to leeward.

*December 28th.*—A fine day, showery towards night. This afternoon fired two guns and hoisted a flag to inform Admiral Parker of our seeing a fleet to windward of Martinique. He did not seem to take any notice of it. This night very rainy and windy in squalls.

*December 31st.*—A very fine day. We can discover six or seven sail to leeward of the island.

*January 1st, 1780.*—A very smart shock of an earthquake this evening about 8 o'clock made the house shake very much. The ships seen yesterday, prove to be Admiral Rowley with three French frigates and two sloops all of which he has taken since he went out; they are the three we saw to leeward on the 21st, one of them is *La Fortune* of 42 guns, the other *La Blanche* of 32 guns, and the third is the new *Ellis* privateer of Bristol, copper bottomed, 28 guns, which had been taken by the enemy and made a frigate of. These three ships had been carrying the few remaining troops (after the affair at Charlestown) to the Grenadines. We saluted Admiral Rowley as he passed, which he returned. We are informed that d'Estaing lost four frigates on the bar of Charlestown, and upwards of 1,000 of his troops killed in the attack he made on the English. May he ever meet with the like misfortunes when he takes the part of rebels.

I sent the following letters and amounts the 10th December, 1779, by the packet:—

1. A letter to Cox and Mair containing three bills for £70, £50, and £40. A letter to Colonel Farrington, and an account of late Lieutenant Walker's effects.
2. Letter to the Board (duplicate) about Lieutenant Edwards.
3. Letter to the Board with medicine account.
4. Muster rolls and pay list for my detachment for Sept., Oct., Nov., and Dec., 1779.
5. Letters to Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. D., and Miss Day, with order on my agent for £10.
6. Letter to Donaldson.

*January 2nd, 1780.*—A fine clear day. Two of the French prizes are at anchor in the Gros Ilot, the other one is in tow of one of our men-of-war, having lost her mizzen-mast in attempting to escape. It is by no means an unpleasant prospect that we now enjoy from our mountain, a number of prizes at anchor in our harbour and three very fine frigates going in. Admiral Parker makes use of his ships, which Byron never did. Parker has taken nine or ten St. Domingomen, he has also taken and destroyed 15 ships within our sight and he has taken three frigates.

*January 3rd.*—This morning very fine and clear. We can see six or seven sail of ships to leeward of Fort Royal harbour. We fired two guns from our hill, and hoisted the colours to inform the Admiral, who, soon after, got under way with his ships. Commodore Collingwood with his division came down from the windward and joined Admiral Parker; the whole, consisting of 16 sail are at 12 o'clock

standing towards Fort Royal. In the evening we could perceive that some of them stood into the harbour. When the Admiral left the Gros Ilot he ordered all the prizes down to the Careenage, where they soon arrived and anchored off the mouth of it, not a very grateful sight to the Frenchmen who are constantly going in and out in their canoes to and from the town. A remarkably fine night.

*January 4th.*—A most beautiful morning. The island of Martinique is exceedingly free from clouds and fogs, and the houses are distinguishable with the naked eye. Our fleet are lying off the mouth of Fort Royal harbour, seemingly becalmed; late in the evening it returned to anchor in the Gros Ilot.

*January 5th.*—As fine a morning as the last and Martinique equally clear. There is not a French ship of war in Fort Royal harbour.

*January 6th.*—Remarkably fine day. All the prizes left the Careenage and came to in the Choc Bay.

*January 7th.*—A clear delightful day. Admirals Parker and Rowley, and Commodore Collingwood dined on the Morne. The Admiral set sail with all his prizes for Antigua, and intends to look after M. de la Motte Piquet and his fleet. Nine ships of the line under Commodore Collingwood are left to protect us.

*January 10th.*—A fine day but hazy. Martinique is not to be seen, and our prospect is much abridged by the thickness of the air, but the days are cool and pleasant notwithstanding. In the evening a smart shower of rain fell, but it did not continue long.

*January 12th.*—Commodore Collingwood got under way from Choc Bay and continued off and on the shore all day. He was joined by a large ship from the windward. A good deal of rain this day and during the night.

*January 13th.*—A fine clear morning. Our Commodore and his fleet are off Fort Royal harbour; in the afternoon they returned to St. Lucia, but did not come to anchor. This day has been remarkably fine, the night equally so.

*January 14th.*—The fleet is separated and a good way to leeward. We imagine this is owing to the currents, which are, on this coast, very strong and very variable. One day setting to the northward, the next night perhaps to the southward, and in a few hours to the westward and north-west, and if the breeze is not pretty strong, ships are very soon carried a considerable distance, whichever way the current sets.

*January 15th.*—A fine day. Our fleet are attempting to get to windward, but go on but slowly. I this day received a very extraordinary letter of no older date than on the 14th December, 1764, directed to Lieut. D. at New York. On the first page are written a few lines from my late aunt Price and a few from my friend Doctor Hicks. On the 2nd and 3rd is a long letter from the Doctor's sister for whom I had a sort of *penchant*. This letter was entrusted to a friend, who promised to take a great deal of care of it. I think he performed that part of his promise for the letter is really in high preservation, considering it is only fifteen years since it was written.

This is the general consequence of trusting friends with letters. By other letters I am acquainted with the promotion in our Regiment, by which I at length get a company. A good deal of rain in the night.

*January 17th.*—A windy, hazy morning. The *Savage*, a sloop of war from Antigua, anchored at the mouth of the Careenage; she is looking for Admiral Parker to acquaint him that the French Admiral de la Motte Piquet with five or six sail of the line and some frigates is off St. Kitts. We are told he is going to St. Eustatius for a convoy of provisions for Martinique. The *Savage* sailed again. Some rain fell this evening and in the night.

*January 18th.*—A hazy but pleasant morning. Two ships are to leeward, supposed to be the *Savage* and a ship which sailed with her driven down by the current. This being the birthday of our English Queen, 21 cannon were fired. Gentle showers through the day and night.

A week of very unsettled weather. About noon on the 27th, Commodore Collingwood and his fleet got under way from the Gros Ilot, and stood to windward.

*January 28th.*—A fine morning. Commodore Collingwood and his ships are off Fort Royal harbour. The afternoon turned out very rainy and windy. A great quantity of rain fell during the night.

*January 30th.*—A windy morning, but without rain. We discover our fleet under Commodore Collingwood lying off Fort Royal harbour. Admiral Parker with his division is supposed to be looking for the enemy about St. Eustatius. A quantity of rain fell in the afternoon. A brig and a sloop taken by the Commodore came into the Careenage to-day.

*February 3rd.*—Received a letter from Captain Williamson. He informs me of the death of Captains Carter<sup>1</sup> and John Scott.<sup>2</sup> I am appointed captain of a company in England<sup>3</sup> and to be relieved by Captain Wright.<sup>4</sup> Our fleet is not in sight. A fine day.

*February 10th.*—A fine morning without rain. Small showers through the day and night. This evening a man-of-war of Admiral Parker's division came to anchor off the Careenage, having in company a store-ship which had parted from Admiral Rodney's fleet on January 28th. She did not call at Barbadoes, but fell in with Admiral Parker's fleet to windward of that island.

*February 11th.*—A fine morning. Two large ships are seen to leeward. They came off the Careenage in the afternoon, and prove to be the *Venus* frigate and a line of battle-ship of Collingwood's division. Before dark we saw the remainder of his fleet off Martinique. A "Snow," thirty days from Boston, intended for Martinique, came from

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<sup>1</sup> Captain John Carter (Kane's List, No. 180), one of General Burgoyne's army died during its detention in America on May 17th, 1779.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Alexander John Scott (Kane's List, No. 274), died in Newfoundland, September 24th, 1779.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Downman's promotion dated November 11th, 1779.

<sup>4</sup> Captain Jesse Wright (Kane's List, No. 335).

the windward, and ran down amongst our ships off the harbour's mouth. She considered this to be the island she was bound to, and the ships of course French. She was brought into port directly. Rain in the night.

*February 13th.*—A rainy bad morning. Collingwood's fleet are off the Gros Ilot. We are told he has driven M. Piquet a great way to leeward, and that the *Venus* silenced a battery on Martinique, landed some men, spiked the guns, and destroyed two French ships that were at anchor.

*February 14th.*—A very fine day. Two ships of the Commodore's division are at anchor at the mouth of the Careenage. The remainder are blocking up M. Piquet, who is in Guadeloupe with five sail of the line and three frigates. I am told by a navy officer that one of the ships destroyed by the *Venus* was from Glasgow with a rich cargo on board, absolutely bound to Martinique. The papers which were found on board shewed that she was cleared from Glasgow and intended for the island where she was destroyed, which I hope will be the fate of every traitor to his country.

*February 16th.*—A remarkably fine morning. We can distinguish the houses in Martinique with the assistance of a glass. A great deal of rain fell in the night. Cannon firing was seen in the night on the coast of Martinique, and our fleet was seen close to Fort Royal harbour this morning. A vessel arrived yesterday from Barbadoes, which informs us of General Vaughan, with troops and a large convoy of merchantmen, being arrived at that island from England.

*February 20th.*—Very fine through day and night. This afternoon a frigate with six victuallers arrived from Barbadoes. General Vaughan brought with him two regiments from England; one is to remain at Barbadoes, the other is gone to Jamaica. He is gone to Antigua to look into the state of the island, from thence he will visit St. Kitts, then Tobago, and lastly this island. Admiral Parker with his division attended the General from Barbadoes, Commodore Collingwood is still guarding the entrance of Fort Royal.

*February 24th.*—A cold day with intervals of rain and sunshine. Rain fell in the night. M. de la Motte Piquet with his fleet has got into Fort Royal and is joined by four sail of the line in spite of the vigilance of our Commodore, who has been four or five times in chase, but could never catch him. Wonderful! A few nights ago one of their ships in pushing in got a peppering by some of our fleet.

*February 26th.*—Admiral Parker with his division of ships arrived and anchored in the Gros Ilot. The whole fleet are now very busy in wooding and watering, and two frigates are cruising near Fort Royal. M. de la Motte Piquet has now 9 or 10 ships of the line in harbour.

Sent to England by the packet which sailed on February 25th:—

To Messrs Cox and Mair, pay-lists and abstracts for January and February, 1780.

Pay list for *Delaware* prize money and bill on Cox for the amount. Muster rolls for January and February, 1780, to the board.

A letter to Cox and Mair on bill enclosed on Board for £120/17/-



Letters to Mrs. Grosvenor, Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. D. and Uncle D.

*February 29th.*—The fleet as before, and fine weather. We are told that a French army of 10,000 men, convoyed by 15 sail of the line, are on their passage from Europe to the West Indies. Admiral Parker is preparing to intercept them.

*March 8th, 1780.*—A sailor was hanged this day on board the fleet in the Gros Ilot, for desertion. The whole fleet is still there.

*March 21st.*—Admiral Rodney has arrived at Barbadoes with three sail of the line. A fine day.

*March 22nd.*—A frigate arrived from Barbadoes informing us of four regiments being arrived from England. I went to the Choc this morning on board Captain Williamson's ship. He commands the Artillery on the present expedition, which we are now told is against the Grenadines. In the afternoon, a fleet of 30 or 40 sail were seen to leeward, not far distant from Martinique, supposed to be the French fleet that has been expected some time. They have managed well, for Admiral Rodney's ships are cruising between this island and Martinique to windward, and Commodore Collingwood with four or five ships between Martinique and Guadeloupe to leeward. A very windy day.

*March 23rd.*—Admiral Parker and his fleet got under way this morning from the Choc. He is too late. The French fleet are certainly got into port, for we cannot see anything of them from the hill. Our whole fleet anchored in the Gros Ilot, and all the transports, bombs, &c., came into the Careenage. A hazy, windy day.

*March 24th.*—This morning a fleet of men-of-war and frigates, 28 or 30 sail were seen standing from Fort Royal harbour towards St. Lucia. We soon found them to be French. Two of their ships went very near the Gros Ilot and made signals. Our fleet kept snug. In the afternoon, Captain Williamson and his men landed at the battery at the entrance of the Careenage, and all the transports warped up into the bay. In the evening the *Cyclops* and consort sailed with a detachment of troops to strengthen St Kitts and Antigua. A great many guns were fired in the night from the French fleet.

*March 25th.*—A fine morning. The French fleet are a few miles to leeward, except two ships which are very near the Gros Ilot. Mortifying enough no doubt to Admiral Parker and his officers. The whole fleet have their topsails loosed. Admiral Rodney we are told is expected this very day from Barbadoes. About 8 o'clock a number of ships were seen to windward coming down; Admiral Parker and his whole fleet got under way and stood to windward. The French fleet was to leeward of him on the same tack. About 12, the French fleet tacked and stood to the southward; about one o'clock the English did the same, at this very time near 30 sail of shipping appeared in sight round the Gros Ilot, the whole of which soon came to anchor at the Careenage. They are last from Barbadoes, and have on board four new regiments from England. As soon as the admiral saw the transports out of danger, he returned to the Gros Ilot, and came to anchor in exceedingly regular and good order. Admiral Parker has much merit on this occasion, his determination being to fight the French fleet,

though so very much superior, rather than lose a single transport. But the French fleet did not seem inclined to come to action, notwithstanding their advantage in number, that is, they did not crowd sail as ships would do that had that intention. During the remainder of the day the French fleet kept beating to windward. We imagine they have heard of Admiral Rodney's five ships and are striving to get to windward of the island to cut him off from Admiral Parker, but the plan is better laid, for on the first appearance of Rodney, Parker's whole fleet will be under way and out to join him. An action seems inevitable as soon as this juncture is made. A number of guns were fired during the night at sea.

*March 26th.*—A fine morning. The French fleet are beating between the Gros Ilet and Martinique, and some of their frigates are considerably to windward.

*March 27th.*—A rainy, hazy morning. Many guns were fired this morning early from the French ships. They are more to windward than yesterday. Admiral Parker remains as before. About 10 or 11 o'clock we observed the French windwardmost ships bearing down and making signals to the rest of the fleet. In a little time after, the whole of the fleet bore away and went into Fort Royal harbour. About this time we saw signals made from the hill at Gros Ilet, and between two and three we saw five large ships from the windward coming round the Gros Ilet. We soon discovered them to be Admiral Rodney in the *Sandwich*, a 90 gun ship, and four 74 gun ships; they anchored in the bay and were saluted by Admiral Parker.

*April 1st, 1780.*—Fine morning. Gentle showers during the day. About 10 o'clock the fleet got under way from the Gros Ilet and stood over to Martinique shore.

*April 2nd.*—Rainy, cold disagreeable morning. The fleet not in sight. Several reports of cannon at a distance. In the afternoon we saw our fleet under Martinique.

*April 3rd.*—Fine day. The fleet is off Fort Royal harbour. Strange doings! Yesterday the British fleet was braved in this harbour, to-day the British fleet block up the French.

*April 4th.*—A fine clear day. Our fleet are standing over towards St. Lucia; about noon they returned to the Gros Ilet and came to anchor. Admiral Rodney is very ill.

*April 5th.*—Rain early this morning, the other part of the day clear and agreeable. Three French ships got into Fort Royal this afternoon. The signal was made from our hill to inform the Admiral of their being seen, but no notice was taken of it for an hour and a half, and then it was too late. Thus the great advantage of the Morne is lost by the inattention of the navy.

*April. 6th.*—A fine morning. Several transports left the Careenage and went to the Gros Ilet. A movement of some kind or other seems to be on foot, for small vessels and men were collected at the Careenage yesterday and to-day.

*April 7th.*—A fine and cool morning. Our fleet remains as usual at the Gros Ilet. The bombs and tenders, with Captain Williamson, left

the Careenage and joined the fleet. We are now pretty strong on the hill, (if sickness does not get amongst us) by being joined by part of the 89th, 90th and 91st regiments.

*April 11th*—Showery and cloudy day. Eight of our fleet are cruising off and on the shore of Martinique.

*April 15th*.—A fine day. The cruising ships are driven by the current a great way to leeward. About 8 o'clock this morning the whole fleet from the Gros Ilet got under way, and after a little time bore away to leeward and joined the cruisers. We are just informed that the French fleet with all their transports have got out of Martinique and gone. We do not know whither. Antigua and St. Kitts, I quake for you! We are now left again, except the *Flame* (which is condemned) and the bombs which are now in the Gros Ilet. It is not unlikely that we have a visit from the French soon. We are told they are determined to have this island, and the other day when their fleet came over they intended attacking, if Admiral Parker's whole fleet had not been here. They lost no time, for the day after the reinforcements arrived at Fort Royal, they came over to St. Lucia, and had not less than 12,000 men on board their ships.

*April 18th*.—A close cloudy morning and a shower early. We learn that the French fleet were seen north of St. Eustatius, and that our fleet are between the Diamond rock and Fort Royal harbour, but as the day is thick and hazy, we cannot discover anything of them.

*April 21st*.—A fine morning with gentle showers of rain. We are informed that Admiral Rodney fell in with the French fleet on the 17th, a few leagues to windward of Martinique; that an action ensued, but nothing decisive on either side. We are told that several of the British captains did not behave on that day with their usual fire and spirit, otherwise the day would have been glorious to Britain. Admiral Rodney we are informed acted most gallantly; he almost destroyed two of the enemy's ships before he was attacked by the French Admiral, who was obliged to sheer off, being so roughly handled and thrice on fire, and many of his people threw themselves overboard in despair. It is allowed the fleet was admirably brought into action, only from 15 to 20 minutes elapsing between the headmost and the sternmost ships being engaged. Admiral Rodney's ship was on fire during the engagement. The British ships that are found fault with are the *Ajax*, *Montagne* and *Medway*. It is positively asserted that had the above captains acted with the spirit of their chief, half of the French must have been destroyed or taken, notwithstanding their superiority in number of ships.

*April 22nd*.—A fine day, but very hot with gentle rains. This morning, early, five ships appeared to windward of Martinique, bearing this way.

*April 23rd*.—Early in the morning the above ships came to at the Gros Ilet, they prove to be the *Actæon* and four frigates from a cruise. Rain in the night.

*April 24th*.—A warm close morning, the other part of the day clear and windy. A frigate appeared to windward. Four frigates from the

Gros Îlot weighed and went down and spoke her, and then bore away towards the lee end of Martinique, the other, the *Pegasus*, came to anchor in the Gros Îlot. General Vaughan came in her from the fleet. In the night the *Actæon* and all the frigates sailed from the Gros Îlot. The *Pegasus* is ordered to England immediately. Colonel Musgrave went in her.

*April 26th.*—An agreeable day with pleasant gentle showers. This morning early, saw a fleet of ships off Fort Royal harbour.

*April 27th.*—Rainy morning. The fleet seen yesterday is English and is now about four miles off the Gros Îlot. I went thither about noon, at which time Admiral Rodney and most of the ships came to anchor; a good many appear to have had a number of shots through them. The report respecting the Captains of some of the ships not doing well is confirmed. One of them is under an arrest.

*April 29th.*—A clear day. A French fleet is seen to leeward this evening not far from Fort Royal.

*April 30th.*—Our fleet got under way and stood over to Martinique on a fine day.

*May 1st, 1780.*—Our fleet is a little way to leeward of this island, standing towards it; in the afternoon about four o'clock, the whole came to anchor, some in Choc Bay, and others opposite the Vigie and Careenage. We saluted the Admiral with 19 guns, he returned 17.

*May 6th.*—A fine clear morning. The fleet got under way and stood towards Martinique. The *Cyclops* frigate brought in a rich French ship, which informs us of the French fleet being to windward of Martinique.

*May 7th.*—Hazy weather. We can just discover the English fleet under Martinique shore.

*May 11th.*—A rainy cool morning. Our fleet is not far distant from the Gros Îlot. A fleet of 10 or 12 sail of large ships are seen to windward, which we suppose to be part of the French, waiting there to intercept Commodore Walshingham. A ship came from Barbadoes yesterday, which left Cork on April 1st in company of a number of others, conveyed by the *Triumph* man-of-war; they are safely arrived at Barbadoes, and have 1,300 men on board, the remainder of the new regiments that arrived some time ago, and a few recruits. In the afternoon we discovered upwards of 20 sail of large ships to windward of Martinique. Our fleet is striving all they . . .

The diary ends abruptly, carried on apparently into another book

which is not forthcoming. We know however that Captain Downman remained in St. Lucia until it was restored to France at the treaty of Versailles in 1783, and that he sailed from Grenada for England at the end of the following year. He retired upon full pay in May 1790, until appointed in December 1792, captain of an invalid company. In March 1796, he was promoted a Lieut.-Colonel, and finally retired on full pay in March 1819. The latter days of his life were passed at West Maling, Kent, where he died, aged 85 years, August 16th, 1825.





# APPENDIX.

## SPECIES OF STORES.

A proportion of ordnance and ordnance stores ordered from New York for an expedition to the West Indies under Major-General Grant. The troops on this service consist of two companies of the Royal Artillery—two hundred men. Ten British Regiments about 5,000 men.

C.	Fixed with powder*	6-pr. ...	300	Nails.	Casks.	10 " ...	1770
		3 . ...	900			6 " ...	2
	To wood bottoms only	3-prs. ...	304			4 " ...	1
		Hand for shells of sorts, prs. ...	12			Clout... ..	2
Hooks.	Slung with hood beams ...	6			Plank battery feet super. }	Dog ... ..	1
		Square... ..	3			Horse ... ..	14,000
	Triangle ...	3			10-inch plank... ..	Copper ... ..	500
		24... ..	2				1,414
Iron.	Cutting for sod wads. 12... ..	2		Paper Reams. }	Fine ... ..		121
		Of sorts—tons ...	1			Cannon ... ..	2
	Priming ... ..	69			Brown ... ..		4
		Junk for wads—tons ...	50			Pack threads, lbs. ...	100
Jacks—ordnance	Keys. }	4		Powder. }	Corned whole barrels ...	Pails ... ..	20
		Fowlocks ...	100			Mealed, lbs. ...	20
Kettles.	Camp with frying pan covers.	20			Pins, tug, spare ...	Pikes for chevaux-de-frise ...	20
		Kitt with trivet of iron ...	1				2,500
Knives.	Cutting ... ..	48			Perpendiculars, new pattern... ..		50
		For fuses with blocks ...	2			Pincers for drawing fuses ...	2
Lanthorns.	Mus.ovy ...	12			Portfires, dozens ...	Petre, salt, lbs. ...	130
		Tin ... ..	12			Plummets ... ..	30
Limbers	Dark ... ..	20			Pickets park ... ..	Punches for vents ... ..	60
		24 ... ..	1				
spare, congreves,	12 ... ..	1		ENGINEER DEPARTMENT.			
		6 ... ..	1	Sand bags different sizes ... ..			
shafts.	3 ... ..	1		Ballast baskets. ... ..			
		Line Hambro-skeins ...	100	Balks of 9" by 9", 18 ft. long ...			
Locks pad for travelling mag.	With locks ...	12		Other timber 25 " ...			
		Without ...	72	Canvas ... ..			
In stocks.	Linch pins, spare ...	20		Helves for pick-axes ... ..			
		Marline tarred, skeins ...	30	Mantlets ... ..			
Match. }	Slow, lbs. ...	50		Battering plank ... ..			
		Quick. }	60	Saws. }	Pitt ... ..	Cross cut... ..	Hand ... ..
Measures, Copper sets,	Cotton, lbs... ..	3	Scaling ladders ... ..				
		Worsted, " ...	1	Files for saws... ..			
	24 ... ..	1		Axes, hand ... ..			
		12 ... ..	1	Wheel-barrows ... ..			
Tents complete.	8 lbs to 1 oz. ...	1		Earth rammers ... ..			
		Field officers. Officers ...	1	Hand-bills and hatchets ... ..			
	Laboratory ...			Mauls ... ..			
		Horseman's... ..		Shovels ... ..			
	French ... ..			Spades ... ..			
		Bell ... ..					
Tubes tin—fixed	Miners ... ..	6000					
		Carpenters ...					
Tools sets	Coopers ...						
		Collar-makers ...					
	Smiths ... ..						
		Wheelers ... ..					
	Tinmans ...						

\* It is noticeable that at this date a cartridge containing shot and powder was in use for 6 and 3-pr. guns—one of the features in modern quick-firing guns,

† Wheel harness.  
‡ Leather straps for binding loads on beasts of burden.



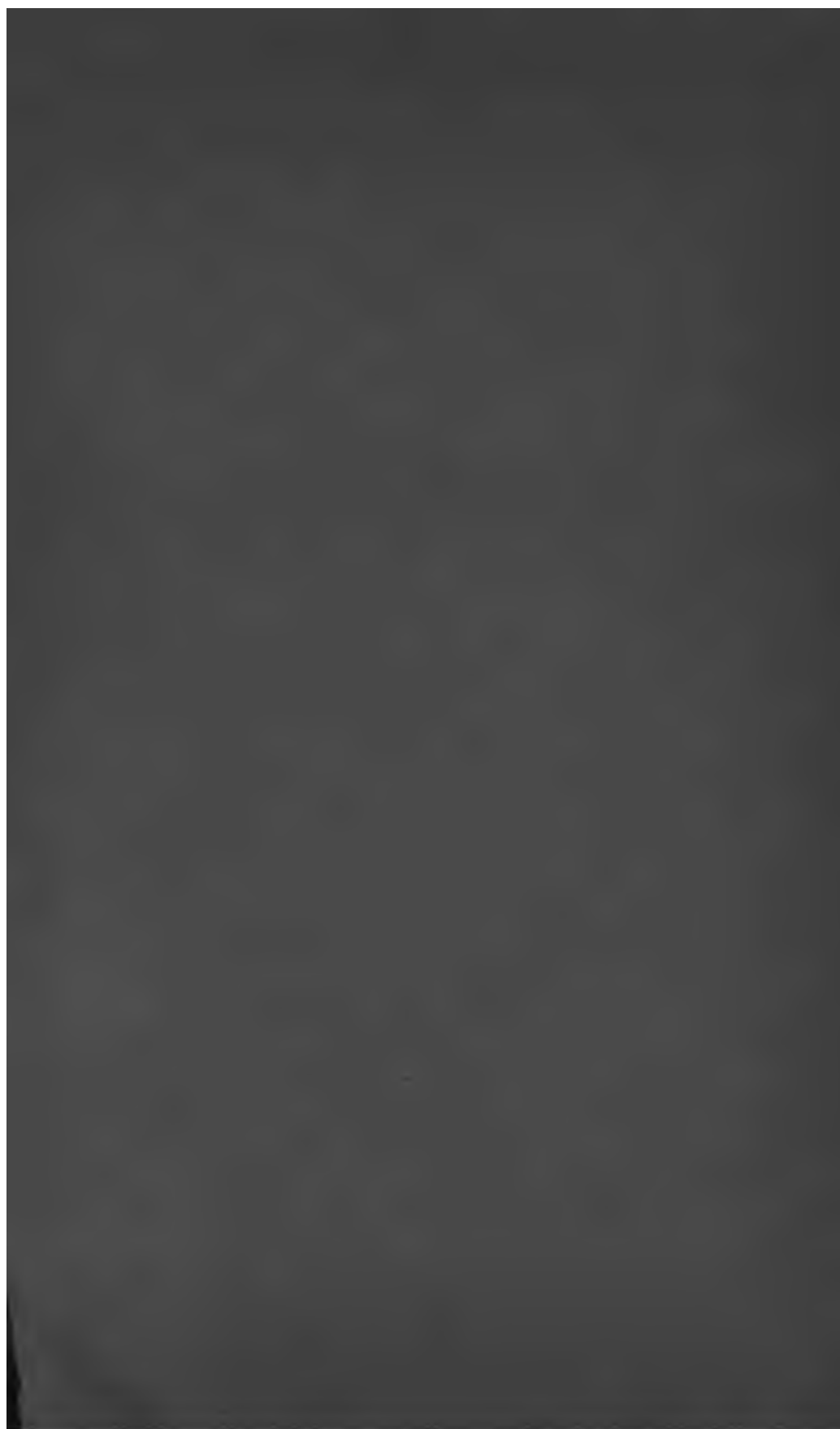


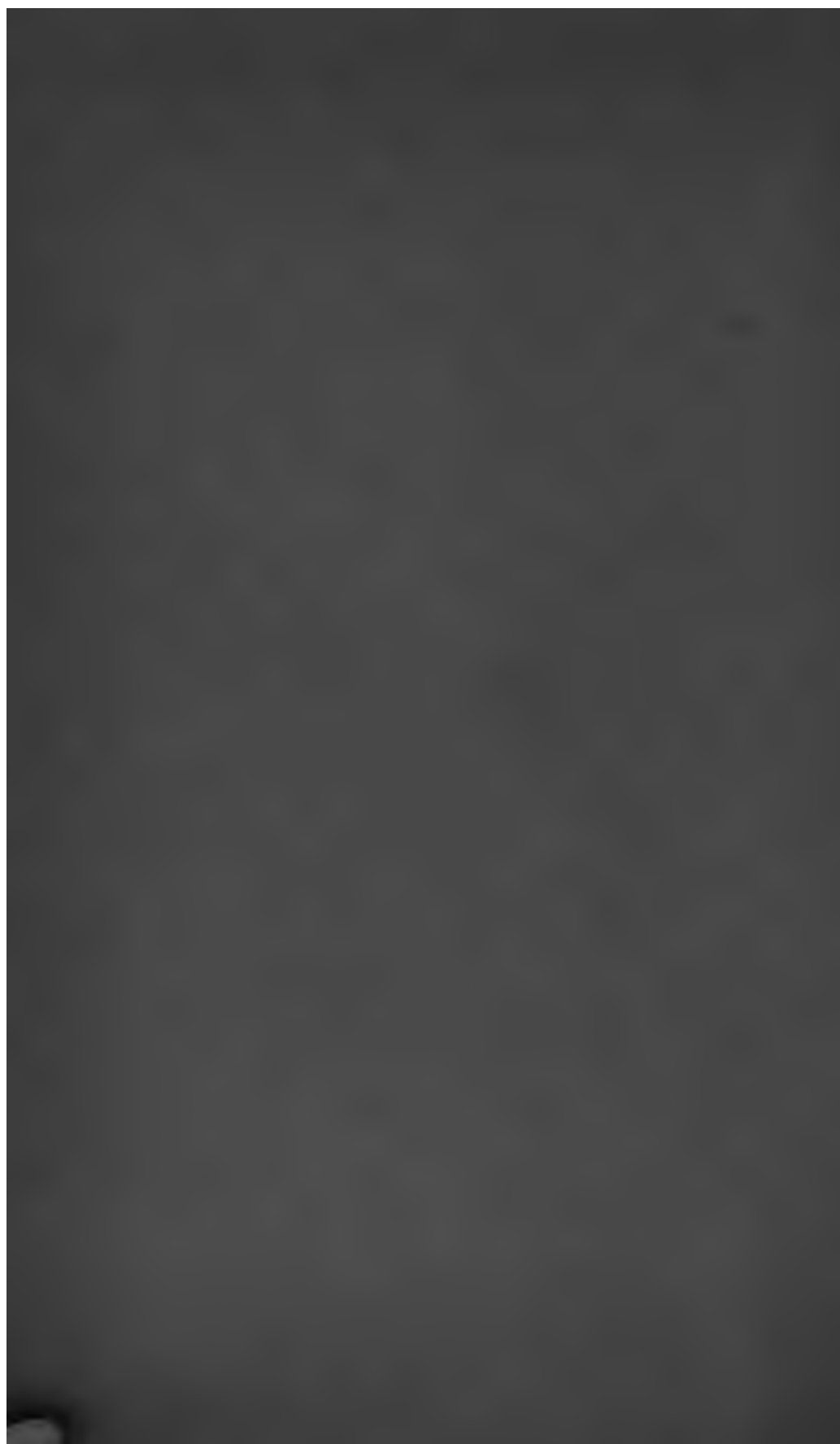
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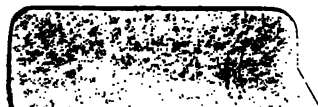
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